



ORDNANCE SURVEY

Britain in the Dark Ages



A MAP OF BRITAIN IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE END OF ROMAN RULE
AND THE TIME OF KING ALFRED (APPROXIMATELY 410 A.D. TO 870 A.D.)

SECOND EDITION



MAP OF BRITAIN IN THE DARK AGES

COVER DESIGN

The main feature of the cover design is the Vendel-style helmet found in the East Anglian royal ship-burial at Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, in 1939, and now in the British Museum. This reconstruction has been carried out by the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey in consultation with the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum. Modifications in shape and detail occur in this, the first attempted reconstruction in colour, as compared with the helmet as hitherto published or as at present seen in the British Museum. These modifications include the size of the crown, the angle at which the visor is set, and the size of the eye openings; rearrangement of the figure and interlace panels on the crown; and the transposition of the dragon heads, of different design, which terminate the crest. While every effort has been made to achieve accuracy, this drawing is not to be regarded as definitive; and in particular it is possible that the panels of interlace on the visor were originally tinned, and not gilded as shown in this reconstruction.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL MAPS

Since its early years the Ordnance Survey has been concerned with investigating, recording and surveying the archaeology of the country. This work is aimed at ensuring that archaeological features are shown correctly on the standard maps, but over the years it has been possible to collate and categorise the information and publish it in the form of special archaeological and historical maps. These maps with their explanatory texts have made a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the country's past in the periods and subjects which have been covered in the series.

The maps are of three types:

1. General Maps (dealing with specific periods or cultures)

Southern Britain in the Iron Age.

Roman Britain.

Britain in the Dark Ages.

Britain before the Norman Conquest.

2. Thematic Maps (showing the distribution and character of certain features).

Ancient Britain.

Monastic Britain.

3. Individual Monuments

Hadrian's Wall.

The Antonine Wall.

Map Catalogue

Full details of these maps and of "Field Archaeology in Great Britain" which contains information and advice on all aspects of field archaeology, are given in the Ordnance Survey catalogue which is available free on request to the Ordnance Survey, Romsey Road, Maybush, Southampton SO9 4DH.



MAP OF BRITAIN
in the
DARK AGES

Second Edition

SCALE

Sixteen Miles to One Inch

Made and published by the

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE ORDNANCE SURVEY
SOUTHAMPTON

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1966

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FOREWORD

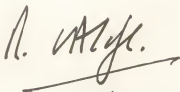
This is the Second Edition of a map of Britain in the Dark Ages which originally appeared in two sheets at the scale of 1:1,000,000, North and South, in 1939 and 1935 respectively. The most obvious change now made is the adoption of a single sheet form covering the whole of Great Britain at the same scale.

Much progress has been made in Dark Age studies since 1935 and a comparison of the two versions will show that there have been many additions. Some of these are to categories of features already dealt with on the first edition and others are new. An example of novelty is the application of more than one hundred and fifty early monastic sites to the map. Another innovation is the showing of the whole known Roman road system as a background feature wherever it occurs. Although it went into decline rapidly in the fifth century its influence on the development of Anglo-Saxon settlement cannot be ignored.

We have had the advantage of using the late Dr. V.E. Nash Williams' great study of early Christian monuments in Wales which was still in an early stage in 1935. In most respects this map follows closely on the pioneering work of the late Dr. O.G.S. Crawford who laid its foundations so firmly in 1935 and 1939. The need for economy has led to the abandonment of certain embellishments which appeared on the first edition, but this has in no way impaired the usefulness of the map. The introduction has been completely re-written and an index is supplied which categorises all the main classes of Dark Age antiquity, ranges them in alphabetical order and supplies full details of their location.

The whole of the compilation has been the work of the former Archaeology Officer, Mr. C.W. Phillips, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., who acknowledges the assistance of scholars and archaeologists in many parts of the country, too numerous to be mentioned individually by name here. A particular debt is owed to Mr. C.A. Raleigh Radford, M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A., F.S.A., whose advice has been valuable at all stages of the work, to Professor Kenneth Jackson, M.A., LITT.D., D.LITT.CELT., F.B.A., of the University of Edinburgh for help with names and to Mr. R.B.K. Stevenson, M.A., F.S.A., the Director of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh, for counsel on Scottish problems.

I would like to offer the thanks of the Department, both on my own behalf and on that of my predecessor Major-General A.H. Dowson, C.B., C.B.E., under whom the bulk of the work was carried out, to these and to all others who have freely given of their time and knowledge to help bring this work to completion.



(R. C. A. EDGE)
*Major-General,
Director General.*



INTRODUCTION

This is the first revision of the *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages* produced by Dr. O.G.S. Crawford and issued by the Ordnance Survey in two parts in 1935 and 1939. As a description of the period under review (410 - 871) the term "Dark Ages" grows less appropriate with the advance of knowledge, but alternatives such as "Migration and Early Medieval Period", which have gained currency elsewhere, though possibly more precise, are cumbersome and the older name still contains much truth — as any compiler must know from bitter experience. The title has therefore been kept unchanged.

The scale of the original map (1:1,000,000 or 16 miles to the inch) has also been retained, but the whole of Great Britain is now treated on one sheet. The earlier division into two sheets had something to commend it, since the evidence for the period differs considerably both in quality and quantity in Northern and Southern Britain. Scotland has nothing equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to provide a continuous narrative and, save for the lengthy episode of the unsuccessful Northumbrian attempt to subdue the Pictish kingdom and various ecclesiastical contacts, the affairs of the north and south are largely distinct. Similarly the dates at which it is convenient to open and close the treatment of the southern region have no particular significance in the north. The union of the Picts and Scots under Kenneth mac Alpin, which occurred c.850, may be considered as a general terminal date in Scotland, but it cannot be applied with any rigidity since certain important features of Pictish art, in decline after this date, continue to appear until the end of the 9th century. On the other hand the divided treatment was only made possible by a substantial overlap between the two sheets, allowing the country between Hadrian's Wall and the Forth-Clyde isthmus to appear on both. On historical and economic grounds alike there is great convenience to the user in providing one map to cover the whole of Great Britain.

This map is concerned to show the present state of knowledge and to provide an index of progress in the study of a period which is still full of perplexities and empty places. Most of our information about Pagan Anglo-Saxon England continues to come from archaeological sources depending heavily on the contents of cemeteries, though some important progress has recently been made in piecing together various items which increase our knowledge of early Anglo-Saxon life. Dark Age Scotland is a difficult subject, and much of what appears on this map does more to define where some work has been done rather than to give a properly balanced picture of the time. Much remains to be done, but we can see the serious gaps in our knowledge. Experience has shown that this visual demonstration is one of the most useful functions of Ordnance Survey period maps which thus act as guides and stimuli to further work.

The new map differs from its predecessor in two obvious respects. Britain was covered with the structural features of the Roman provinces when our period begins in 410 and these were bound to have some influence on the new dispensation even though much was ruined, ignored and rejected by the Anglo-Saxons in the stage of settlement. It has therefore been thought desirable to show the skeleton of the defunct provinces by indicating the Roman road system by pecked lines. The second change is seen in the abandonment of any attempt to restore natural woodlands on a geological basis. No apology is due for this. It has already been done on the third edition of the map of Roman Britain because wider knowledge of human distribution in that period shows that most of the naturally wooded areas carried much larger populations than was thought possible thirty years ago. Specific instances are the lands bordering on the Great Ouse and Warwickshire Avon which constitute a belt across the Midlands, and a greater density of Romano-British settlement can now be recognised in most of these areas. In any case the ancient equipment for cutting and removing timber was not greatly different from that which was commonly used in this country until as late as the 18th century. Many natural woodlands are on good soil and this was recognised long before our period began. Great woodlands remained in our period and no doubt there was some local re-establishment of scrub and forest in the 5th and 6th centuries, but it is unlikely to have been a major factor affecting settlement at this time. Our first real information about the full extent of woodlands in Anglo-Saxon times does not come till the Domesday Survey of 1086. Where there is much uncertainty the need to clarify a map which must carry much detail is a sufficient justification for the omission of woodlands.

Space does not permit the full discussion of the relations between the dying Roman province and its enemies in the 5th century. The Roman army and civil officials departed leaving the Romano-Britons to their own devices. A form of government by a group of *civitates* carried on to mid-century with the occasional help of people like St. Germanus of Auxerre till the failure of the appeal to Aetius in 446 was probably a final blow to its credit. Thereafter begins the rise of the sub-Roman tyrants we read of in Gildas. Saxons were already among those enemies repulsed by St. Germanus in 429. They were now introduced as mercenaries settled in the land to aid in its defence. The break-down of the relations between these and the tyrants was followed by more arrivals from overseas and a struggle began which was sustained on the British side by leaders like Ambrosius Aurelianus and the enigmatic Arthur. By c.500 when they had won the battle of Mons Badonicus the Britons were holding their own. Many of the invaders withdrew to the Continent and when Gildas wrote the country was at peace, though large areas remained under Anglo-Saxon control.

The problem of Romano-British survival in the areas of primary Anglo-Saxon settlement remains unsolved. There may have been enclaves lasting for some time in areas like the Fenland, the Chilterns and, further west, in the Isle of Purbeck and elsewhere, but the archaeological evidence for these, at least, is at present negligible. The surviving elements of the Romano-British population in the East, South-east and Midlands have left us no signs of their presence which are clearly recognisable today. Certainly none of them can be expressed in cartographic terms and the situation is little better in the West outside Devon, Cornwall and Wales. Most of the major Roman towns come up again out of the twilight of these centuries, but there are notable casualties which barely recover village status. In some areas the pattern shifts; thus Reading succeeds Silchester, Shrewsbury takes the place of Wroxeter and Hereford follows on from Kenchester through the hard facts of local topography asserting themselves.

The decay of the road system must have been early and severe when bridges broke, engineering works failed and major arteries lay for long in debatable lands. No doubt the degree of decay varied from place to place, but its havoc among roads which were seldom better than roughly macadamised surfaces may be imagined by noting how swiftly an abandoned piece of modern tar macadam can be broken up by the forces of weather and vegetation. Even more to the point is the astonishingly quick return to nature of recently-abandoned railway tracks whose road beds have been laid thick with hard materials and consolidated by a century of train traffic. We may marvel that so many traces of the Roman road system remain to us.

We may also recall that in at least two places on major Roman roads Anglo-Saxons buried many of their dead full in the carriage way. This may be a local aberration, but it suggests that often the Roman road system survived as an indication of routes to be followed across country between slowly-reviving centres of population rather than as continuous surfaces still usable over long distances.

THE USE OF COLOUR

Three colours are used in the overprint on this map, black, red and blue. During the period under review two worlds, Celtic and Germanic, are confronting each other in Britain, and the adoption of Christianity by the Anglo-Saxons only mitigates and does not resolve this conflict.

Symbols representing features belonging to the Celtic world are shown in *blue*. On the Germanic side *black* is used for the pagan phase and *red* for everything belonging to the Conversion and its consequences. In general the two main distributions are well separated and overlapping only occurs in limited areas like parts of Southern Scotland. *Black* is also used for symbols indicating towns and more important inhabited places, battle sites, and all names.

THE HISTORICAL SCOPE OF THE MAP

ENGLAND

This map covers the whole of the formative period of the Anglo-Saxon settlement up to the accession of Alfred to the throne of Wessex in 871. Although it contains many obscure places, particularly in its first hundred and fifty years, the general course of early Anglo-Saxon history is sufficiently clear and it will be enough here to mention the crucial phases in the establishment of Anglo-Saxon rule over England.

During this period the original inhabitants of what had been Roman Britain were subjected to a steady pressure which left Wales as the only independent British region south of the Solway. How much this process owes to Teutonic federates already settled as mercenaries in the 4th and 5th centuries and how much to fresh bands of immigrants cannot be considered here. Obviously the latter were the more considerable in number. The details remain a matter of contention but the contest with the Britons certainly had its changes of fortune. At the close of the 5th century the struggle was being maintained on something like equal terms, and the British victory at Mons Badonicus c.500 repulsed the westward advance of the Saxons for at least a generation. But although there is evidence that some Saxons withdrew from Britain altogether under the stress of this defeat their general hold on the East and South-east of the country was not relinquished. The nucleus of the kingdom of Wessex in the Middle Thames valley remained and began to expand once more after victories at Old Sarum in 552 and at Bedcanford in 571. These led to penetration into Wiltshire resulting in the outflanking of Dorset and the subjugation of a wide belt of country in the south Midlands. Then a decisive blow was struck when Ceawlin won the battle of Deorham in 577 and seized the old Roman centres at Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath. This brought the West Saxons to the lower Severn on a broad front and drove a wedge between the Britons of Wales and those of the South-west. A large exodus of the latter to Brittany and the Loire Valley eased the way for a steady Saxon penetration into Devon and Eastern Cornwall accompanied by extensive settlement, which began with the battle of Bindon in 614. The conquest of the South-west was finally completed by Egbert at the battle of Hingston Down in 838.

In the north of England the 6th century saw the beginning of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria. Its southern part, Deira, may originate from a take-over by Germanic mercenaries, but its real nucleus was the Bernician coastal fortress of Bamburgh, the point of settlement of a war band under Ida in 547. In the next fifty years the British reaction to this Anglian intrusion was so sharp that the invaders made little progress inland from the coast, but although Urien of Rheged is said to have driven the newcomers back into Lindisfarne for a time, a Bernician victory over the North Welsh at Catterick confirmed their hold. The accession of Ethelfrith to the throne of Bernicia in 593 heralded a strong advance. A still unbroken stretch of country held by various British principalities, Rheged, Elmet and Strathclyde, extended from the general area of North Wales to the Forth-Clyde line, and most of the Pennines were in their control. Ethelfrith began the offensive in 616 by defeating the British king of Powys at Chester. It is not clear how far this carried the Angles permanently to the coast of Lancashire, but it began the separation of the Britons of Wales from those of Strathclyde, a similar disruptive effect to that of the battle of Deorham on the South-west. In 603 Ethelfrith also gave a severe check to the expansion of the new Scotie kingdom of Dalriada by defeating Aedán mac Gabráin at Degsastan somewhere in the region of the later Border. Ethelfrith then took over Deira and Northumbria was born. After Ethelfrith's death in battle Edwin of Deira, who had been driven into exile, seized the whole kingdom and the Bernician family sought refuge in Dalriada, coming into contact with Celtic Christianity at Iona with important consequences for the future. Edwin continued the pressure against the North Welsh with some success and the Celtic kingdoms of Rheged and Elmet now lost their independence, but a new factor appeared when the Angles of the north and west Midlands coalesced to form Mercia. Meanwhile Edwin had accepted Christianity in its Latin form from Paulinus. An alliance of the new Mercian power under Penda with Cadwallon of Wales led to Edwin's defeat and death at Hatfield Chase in 632. Northumbria was severely ravaged and fell back into its constituent parts for a while, but the Britons had pushed to the North Sea for the last time because in 633 Oswald, the Bernician king returned from exile, defeated and slew Cadwallon near Hexham and restored Northumbria.

Thus within thirty years, and in spite of several reversals of fortune, the British world of the West had been split into three parts. The south-western fragment was destined to wither away in the next two hundred years and the Strathclyde Britons were to fall back deep into Scotland. These events were decisive for the Anglo-Saxon domination of England.

By the end of the 7th century Northumbria had reached and passed the summit of its political power. An expansion far into Scotland ended with the defeat and death of Ecgfrith at the hands of the Picts at Nechtansmere in 685 and his earlier defeat by the Mercians on the Trent in 674 had begun a period of Mercian supremacy which culminated in the reign of Offa, Charlemagne's contemporary, the first Anglo-Saxon king who can be regarded as a European figure and the only serious rival of Alfred as a great ruler.

The attacks of the Northmen finally ruined Northumbria, struck down Mercia and carried the supremacy to Wessex in the successful reign of Egbert, Alfred's grandfather.

This brings us to the close of our period. A number of the smaller kingdoms of the early days had been swallowed up in the larger combinations. The political unity of the country was still to be achieved but it was now unlikely that any British revival could shake the hold of the Anglo-Saxons. The real challenge came from overseas and the period closes as the kingdom of Wessex braces itself for a desperate struggle for survival against the Northmen.

Christianity came to the Anglo-Saxons from different directions and in different traditions. As Bede complained, the Britons made no attempt to convert their enemies. The mission of Augustine in 597 brought Latin Christianity to the South-east whence it was soon carried by Paulinus and James the Deacon into Northumbria, but there it had to meet the challenge of the Celtic form which had come in with the returning exile Oswald. The missionary activity of the Celtic monks was intense but the Latins had powerful champions in Theodore of Tarsus, Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid. The victory of the Latin church was secured by the synod of Whitby in 663, a crucial event in Anglo-Saxon history because it directed the new England into the current of Latin civilisation with incalculable effects on its ideas and institutions.

WALES

By the end of our period in 871 Wales was the only surviving independent British region of Southern Britain and carried on its own life west of Offa's Dyke which had defined its frontier with Mercia for nearly one hundred years past. The story of Wales from the 5th century onwards was affected by more than the clash of Celt and Saxon. At the close of the Roman period both the north and the south of the country was the scene of important immigrations from Ireland as well as the episode of the coming of Cunedda from the Lowlands of Scotland to found the dynasty which was to rule long in North Wales. South Wales as far east as the borders of Brechinog and Erging was strongly affected by Irish settlers from South-east Ireland whose original function may have been to defend it against others of their own kin. It is clear that for some time before the end of the 4th century the defence of Wales as a whole was ceasing to be the task of formal Roman forces and was becoming the concern of the natives, though far more work will have to be done among the old fortresses surviving from pre-Roman times before the full character and extent of this will be apparent.

The feature of life in Dark Age Wales which is most easily shown on a map today is the evidence for Christianity. This chiefly takes the form of a large number of monuments—memorial stones, early crosses, etc.—which are found freely everywhere except in Central Wales and have their heaviest concentration in the south. While these give evidence of a feebly surviving Romanity influenced from contemporary Gaul they also attest the influence of the Irish both in their form and their inscriptions.

The secular side of life is not so clear. Much work has been done in recent years in trying to sort out the various types of hut settlement which are current from Bronze Age times right through the Roman period into the Dark Ages, but there does not seem to be any clear-cut change in their form marking the passage into post-Roman times. The only certain criterion of Dark Age date is the finding of material clearly belonging to this period in a site, and the limited amount of excavation which has taken place makes it impossible to point to more than a handful of sites where this dating has been securely established. Thus any cartographic treatment of this subject is more of a map of work done than any true distribution pattern. Something more can now be done to show the principal religious centres, monastic and otherwise, than was possible twenty-five years ago, but that is all. Some hope of better things has been given recently by the results of excavating the home of a minor Welsh chief at Dinas Powys near Cardiff.

SCOTLAND

Southern Britain has many written and archaeological sources from which a reasonably well stocked map of its Dark Age topography can be compiled, but North Britain is not so fortunate. The sources for the period there are few, indifferent in quality, and often second hand. The certain archaeological evidence does not go far beyond the surviving works of Pictish and Scotie art.

At the opening of the 5th century it is probably safe to say that all North Britain beyond the Forth-Clyde line was essentially Pictish. This was soon modified by the rise of the intrusive Scotie kingdom of Dalriada in Argyll and the neighbouring islands. This realm may be regarded as the most

significant result of the various raids which had been made by the Irish against Western Britain in the 4th and 5th centuries. They failed to have any permanent effect in England and Wales. This new power in Argyll sprang from Irish Dalriada, the area now known as Northern Antrim. Its traditional founders c. 500 were Fergus, son of Erc, and his brothers Loarn and Angus. Some dependence on the Irish homeland seems to have survived until the time of Aedán mac Gabráin (c. 574 - 608). He was an aggressive ruler who extended his sway over the Pictish lands between Forth and Tay, but when he turned south he was decisively repulsed by Ethelfrith of Bernicia at Degsastan in 603. This check in the political sphere was to last for some time, but the arrival of St. Columba from Ireland and the founding of Iona in 563 made Dalriada a vital source of Christian influence in the Irish style which was to have a powerful effect upon the evangelisation of Northern and much of Southern Britain. The principal strongholds of the new kingdom were at Dunadd in the Moss of Crinan and Dunollie near Oban.

South-western Scotland was occupied by the Brittonic realm of Strathclyde whose origins probably go back to the 5th century. It had varying fortunes and much of its southern part in the regions of Rheged and Galloway fell under Northumbrian control by the 7th century, but its final extinction as a political entity did not take place until after our period closed. At the eastern end of the Forth-Clyde isthmus was the region of Manau Guotodin, the land of the Votadini, covering Lothian and most of the Eastern Lowlands. This had its origin before the 5th century began. We have already seen that Scotie influence in this area was threatened by the defeat at Degsastan and this was followed by a Northumbrian penetration as far as the Forth, of which we have no details, but which certainly ended the separate existence of Manau Guotodin. This deep intrusion of Anglian Northumbria permanently affected the eastern half of the Lowlands with important long-term consequences for the historic kingdom of Scotland, but for the time being a long period of friction between the Picts and the Northumbrians began.

Thus the early years of the 7th century found Northumbria and the Pictish power as the only immediate contenders for the whole of the eastern part of North Britain. Northumbria was subject to sudden changes of fortune through her relations with the Welsh and the rising kingdom of Mercia in the South, but by the time of Oswiu in the mid-7th century it appears that Pife and even part of Angus were being disputed with the Picts. An attempt was made to place a seal of permanency on the Northumbrian advance by founding the see of Abercorn in 681. But the scene changed with dramatic suddenness when Ecgfrith, pressing too far into Angus, was defeated and slain by Brude mac Beli at Nechtansmere in 685. This set a term to Northumbrian expansion in the North. The Forth did not cease to be the frontier between Northumbria and Pictland in general, but the Picts recovered the lands they had lost north of it, and the overlordship which the Northumbrians had imposed on the Scots and the Strathclyde Britons came to an end along with the see of Abercorn. Nechtansmere was decisive and a series of dynastic disputes and wars with Mercia prevented any more large Northumbrian enterprises in North Britain. Even so Northumbria continued to dominate most of the Lowlands until she herself was struck down by the Northmen in 867. After the union of the Picts and Scots Lothian passed more and more under Scottish influence and the no man's land of the North shifted south from the Forth-Clyde line to the present Border where it was to remain till the 17th century.

The Picts have long been a mysterious factor in the early history of North Britain, but much of the fantasy and conjecture which have surrounded them has been stripped away by a recent publication, *The Problem of the Picts* (Nelson, Edinburgh, 1955.) Here they begin to appear in their true light as the political combination of various elements living in East and North Scotland in late Roman times. It is unknown whether there was a single Pictish kingdom as early as 550, but by 563 when St. Columba made his famous journey to convert Brude mac Maelchon, ruler of the Northern Picts, near Inverness, there is a strong suggestion that there were two combinations, the Northern and Southern Picts, the latter occupying all Eastern Scotland north of the Forth as far as Banffshire. The rest of North Scotland fell to the Northern Picts who also exercised some control over the Orkneys and Shetlands. A hundred years after Columba's mission the two areas seem to have been united under one rule or overlordship, but the character of the territory and its traditions probably made this unity superficial and liable to easy disturbance. In the 7th century the Picts were ruled by a variety of kings with mixed Irish, British, Anglian and native descents due to much intermarriage among the northern royal houses. Under strong rule the Picts were formidable and capable of vigorous action on land and sea. Many surviving sculptures testify to their powers as artists and there were learned men among them; it is unfortunate that no Pictish literature has survived. Their union with

the kingdom of Dalriada under Kenneth mac Alpin c.850 dissolves their identity and merges it in the Scottish people of history.

In all this we have little that we can show on a map with any certainty. The battle of Degsastan, though placed at Dawston in Liddesdale with considerable probability, is not certainly located and the site of Nechtansmere has only recently been placed beyond doubt by F.T. Wainwright. Abercorn we can place, and the find spots of those few material evidences of the Northumbrian period in the Lowlands which have survived, chiefly crosses. On the side of the Scots there are certain strongholds, some religious sites and monuments, but little more. It is only in Pictland that a considerable body of evidence survives in the form of symbol stones, crosses, and a few portable objects. The Picts were clearly a gifted people whose cultural level, at its best, was probably little inferior to that of most of the rest of Britain, but neither they nor their western enemies, the Scots, have left any written record to equal the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle or the works of Bede. Indeed it is from the latter that we get much of the information about them that we possess, or else from other external compilations like the Annals of Ulster.

Christianity came early to North Britain, but we know of nothing before the 5th century. If we are to believe Bede and some collateral evidence the Southern Picts were converted by St. Ninian's mission in the first half of the 5th century. The pagan cemeteries of Anglo-Saxon England pose many problems which await answers, but they do give us valuable topographic evidence of the general siting of the new settlements and of the progressive stages of the Germanic expansion in Southern Britain. In this connection it is worth recalling that our knowledge of early Northumbria, and particularly of the Northumbrian advance to the Forth and into South-west Scotland, would be almost non-existent if we relied on the evidence of cemeteries because at most of the material times the Northumbrians were Christians. In default of literary evidence place names would be our only guide. The whole of North Britain has little to show beyond the long cist cemeteries which cluster thickly on both sides of the Forth and a few uncertain records of the association of Pictish symbol stones with burials. Thus funerary evidence is not very helpful, and it is only on general probability rather than on any secure evidence that even these cemeteries are shown on the map.

Defensive structures provide a similar situation. At present early Anglo-Saxon works are confined to linear earthworks and the recognition of enclosed defences is only just beginning, but the age of most of these linear earthworks is in no doubt. In North Britain there are many forts which must have been active right through our period. Some are mentioned in history and so are placed on the map, but many more are unclassified for want of archaeological evidence and must await proper recognition. Small finds also give little help and the secure identification of contemporary dwellings is difficult. The distribution of distinctive objects like the Pictish silver chains is not spread equally over the whole Pictish area but is mainly confined to its southern verge and beyond. Thus it may be no more than a reflection of the conflicts between Picts and Northumbrians. Hoards are few and the most striking example which certainly belongs to the period has come from far north in the Shetlands.

Scotland contains notable relics of early Christianity today. First in time, if not in artistic merit, are those which can plausibly be associated with the mission of St. Ninian. The traces of his work extend southwards into Cumbria as well as over Southern Scotland. It is possible to see signs of his activity as far north as Skye in the west and into Southern Pictland and it is conceivable that the long cist cemeteries have something to do with this mission, but it is still too early to see his influence spreading as far as the Northern Islands. There is, however, no reason to doubt Bede's view that St. Ninian was responsible for the first evangelisation of much of Southern and Eastern Scotland, and his labours were continued for two hundred years by notable successors from St. Caranoc in the mid-5th century, through St. Donnan the Great who was martyred in 618, on to St. Walloch in the early 8th century. St. Ninian's monastic house at Whithorn exercised a powerful influence in Ireland as well as in Scotland and its independence was only extinguished when the tide of Northumbrian conquest poured over into Galloway and the Anglian bishopric of Whithorn was set up in the early 8th century.

Scotland was to be the scene of many missionary labours in the period following St. Ninian. Some were directed mainly to the west and north-west while others affected Pictland, but practically all had their origin in Ireland. There are many famous names, St. Brendan, St. Kentigern, St. Finnan, St. Blaen, St. Ronan, St. Moluag and St. Maelrubha, but none equalled in fame and importance

St. Columba who founded his house at Iona in 563. In his political influence he was a strong supporter of his Dalriadic kinsmen and his importance as one of the founders of Scotland is in no doubt. But it is difficult to illustrate many of these activities on this map. The association of various saints with a limited number of places is certain, but the use of church dedications as a guide to their movements is unsound and has been rejected. The map can do little more than show a limited number of famous sites like Iona, Lismore, Kingarth and Applecross along with some cashels and crosses. The coming decades will no doubt see a much closer scrutiny of the field archaeology of early Christianity in North Britain with fruitful results.

RECENT PROGRESS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF BRITAIN IN THE DARK AGES

The last twenty years have seen marked progress in our understanding of the archaeology of this period, some details of which will be given under separate heads below. Any wider knowledge of conditions in 5th century Britain comes very slowly. The high lights here are some surprising discoveries prolonging the life of Roman St. Albans and various finds in hill forts in Wales tending to confirm some of the traditions of this period. But Arthurian Britain continues to be elusive. A better understanding of the scale of life at the top level of Anglo-Saxon society has been given by some fortunate discoveries like the Sutton Hoo ship burial, Edwin of Northumbria's residence at Yeavering and the Wessex royal manor at Cheddar. These have confirmed the testimony of early poets and opened up new vistas. At a lower level there has been an advance in systematic studies over most of the field. Pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been examined with more thoroughness and objectivity. Some major linear earthworks have been reconsidered with striking results, but settlement sites remain in short supply. The first large timber dwelling houses of Anglo-Saxon date have now been found. A beginning has been made with the recognition and study of closed defensive works, but perhaps the most hopeful development has been an expanding knowledge of all forms of Anglo-Saxon pottery both in its Continental affinities in the early days and in its local developments round England after the pagan period. The archaeology of any post-Mesolithic period in Western Europe can only be well founded on a good knowledge of the pottery types and sequences which are normally the commonest type fossils of its various phases. When Crawford produced the first edition of this map, knowledge of pagan Anglo-Saxon pottery in this country was elementary and that of the later period down to the 11th century almost non-existent. This is now ended. Much remains to be done, but the work of J.N.L. Myres, G.C. Dunning, E.M. Jope, and J.G. Hurst has laid the foundations of a complete system for pottery in Southern Britain between the collapse of the Roman province and the coming of the Normans.

Nor has the Celtic West and North been behindhand in this question of pottery types. Much of the material which has to be considered seems to have been imported and the quantities are small, but a beginning is being made with the recognition of wheel-made wares of sub-Roman character, presumably made in the western and northern parts of Southern Britain at least as late as 450 and possibly fifty years later. This has come from Dinas Powys near Cardiff, four sites in Cornwall and two in Scotland. In due course kilns may be found as the wares are technically similar to earlier Romano-British wares.

Imported pottery seems to have come from two main sources, the Eastern Mediterranean and the neighbouring Gaulish and Frankish lands. In the case of the Mediterranean wares some can be described as domestic, but the bulk of the material comes from large containers of amphora type in which wine was imported. These have been found in Ireland, Cornwall, Devon, Wales and, less certainly, in Western Scotland. When due allowance is made for our ignorance of anything like the full distribution of this pottery it seems probable that the amounts involved were never large and that the contact with the Mediterranean world was occasional and tenuous. It cannot have survived the Arab conquest of North Africa which closed the straits of Gibraltar when Arab power was extended into Spain early in the 8th century at a time when Devon and Cornwall were finally coming under the suzerainty of Wessex. Some doubt has recently been expressed about the date of this importation of Mediterranean wares with the suggestion that it really belongs to the 4th and early 5th centuries, thus falling within the Roman period.

The wares presumed to come from Gaul have a wider distribution. While there is little trace of the Mediterranean material in the north, the western and northern areas are affected by this pottery from nearer home and in some cases glass wares from the Merovingian lands accompanied it. Beginning in the early 5th century its importation probably continued until the swing of Rhenish trade to the

southern and eastern ports of Britain brought it to an end in the 8th century.

There is also one locally produced pottery to be considered. This is the so-called "grass-marked" ware which at present has a purely Cornish distribution on this side of the Irish Sea. This may be another result of the Irish movement into Western Britain, but so far none of this pottery has been found north of the Bristol Channel though, as an Irish trait, it ought to occur in South Wales. As the study of the implications of all these wares occurring in Western and Northern Britain is obviously still in its early stages our presentation of their distribution on the map is provisional.

Finally, in the Anglo-Saxon field there has been much critical re-examination of early church architecture and excavations have increased our knowledge of the details of early monasteries at Whitby, Glastonbury, Tintagel and Burgh Castle. The examination of bomb-damaged towns has also begun to throw some light on the beginning of Anglo-Saxon town life.

ANGLO-SAXON TOWNS

During this period town life reached its lowest ebb in historic times and little progress has yet been made towards solving the problem of how much of it survived into the 6th century. No clear evidence has come to light of any effective occupation of Roman town sites by pagan Anglo-Saxons in the area of primary settlement in the later 5th century, though there are sometimes indications that they were living close by.

The last stage in the life of Roman towns is not easily recoverable, partly because of the disturbance of the latest levels by the re-use of the sites, and partly from the difficulty of recognising its traces when they consist of no more than small finds. But there is no reason to suppose that any heavy disasters had befallen most Roman towns before 450 and some confirmation of this fact has recently come to light at St. Albans. Here fairly substantial buildings were still being put up in the middle of the Roman town in the first half of the 5th century and evidence of continuing organisation is shown by the finding of a wooden water pipe line which can hardly have been placed in position before 450. We are reminded that St. Germanus of Auxerre was able to meet a magistrate called *vir tribuniciae potestatis* in charge of St. Albans in 429. There is no need to expect any major collapse of the towns in the eastern half of the country until after the revolt of the Teutonic mercenaries which is indicated by the story of Hengist and Horsa. Gildas attributes the ruin of towns to this phase, but we do not know the extent of the areas affected by the wars of the later 5th century before the British victory of Mons Badonicus c.500; there are a number of Roman towns in the West and South-west which may have been able to carry on some semblance of Roman life until half-way through the 6th century unless they chanced to be destroyed in raids. Some evidence of late survival has been found at Venta Silurum (Caerwent) in an area which, at this stage, had more to fear from the Irish than the Saxons, but fairly extensive excavations in Roman Exeter suggest that urban life was already at a low ebb there as early as 400. The work now in progress at Cirencester and Winchester may throw more light on this problem. When at last town life ceased the essentially rural pattern of Anglo-Saxon life postponed any revival for a long time. But knowledge of the old towns persisted. Some degree of travel must have continued along the lines of the Roman roads. These, if used at all, led to the sites of towns which in many cases were only waiting to begin a slow recovery.

The arrival of the Augustinian mission in Southern Britain did little to promote the growth of towns in its early days. In the North and wherever the Celtic missionaries made their way, town life received no encouragement because the urban tradition was foreign to all but one, Ninian, and he has left no mark in this field. Augustine, Paulinus and Theodore of Tarsus came from Mediterranean lands where town life was more vigorous, but they arrived too late to revive it in Britain in their own life times. Gregory the Great was responsible for Augustine's mission and hoped to organise the new branch of the Church from urban centres. Two metropolitan sees were to be established at Canterbury and York with twelve other bishoprics dependent on each. The sees were to be sited so that communication might be easy; the use of town sites was clearly implied and the general plan was based on the contemporary division of Anglo-Saxondom between the Southern English and Northumbria. The original intention to move the centre of the southern province from Canterbury to London as soon as possible was never carried out; the plan for the sees dependent on Canterbury achieved only partial fulfilment in 150 years, and little headway was made in the province of York. The kings of the Heptarchy lived most of their time in royal villages and the Church tended to follow the same pattern. Many of the bishops' seats were in small places and only in Canterbury, Rochester, London, Winchester, Leicester and York were they associated with the old Roman town pattern.

At present the archaeological evidence for any clearly recognisable organised life in London in the 5th and 6th centuries is almost entirely wanting. The city was a creation of its geographical position in relation to trade with the Continent in early Roman times. It rapidly grew into an important commercial centre and the focal point of the Roman road system. With the end of the Provinces and the occupation of the neighbouring lands by Anglo-Saxons it seems certain that most of the pre-requisites for London's existence came to an end for a while. Its political importance ceased catastrophically and any trading life between 450 and 550 must have been entirely local. Certain earthworks which ring round the London basin in Kent, Middlesex and the Chilterns have been invoked as evidence for the survival of a "*territorium*" of London, but the most important of these, Grim's Ditch in Middlesex, has now been shown to belong more probably to the Iron Age. A few of London's Romano-British inhabitants may have lingered on, but they are unlikely to have had much to do with the revival of the site which was later a matter of economic necessity.

By 604 London had been the chief place in the kingdom of Essex for some time and so received a bishop after the conversion. The stubborn heathenism of the Essex region and the importance of the patronage of the kings of Kent in the early days led the primacy to be seated at Canterbury, a fact of great importance in keeping London free from any powerful ecclesiastical control in the coming centuries. A hint of London's progress is provided by coins from a London mint found in the Crondall hoard dated to 610 - 630.

Although there are no details we know that London's revival was well under way in the late 7th and early 8th centuries when Bede could refer to the place as *multorum emporium populorum terra marique venientium* (the mart of many nations resorting to it by sea and land). Here, as elsewhere at this time, much of the early seaborne trade seems to have been in the hands of Frisian merchants.

Since 1945 important progress has been made in our knowledge of later Saxon towns at places like Thetford, Southampton, Canterbury, Ipswich, Oxford and Wareham. Nothing has yet been found which justifies the belief in any large developments before the 9th century, but the possibility of important discoveries which may show more traces of quasi-urban life in the earlier part of the period cannot be discounted. The large programme of work now in progress at Winchester is a case in point.

ANGLO-SAXON VILLAGES AND OTHER SETTLEMENT SITES

During this period the main settlement pattern of the towns and villages of England was established in detail, the balance of which was not seriously altered before the coming of the Industrial Revolution, and the Anglo-Saxon achievement in this respect is summarised in the Domesday Survey of 1086.

On the first edition of this map eighteen sites appeared on which there was clear evidence of settled life in the form of hut sites, domestic refuse, etc., plainly belonging to this period. Archaeology has not yet told us much about the characteristics of the early Anglo-Saxon village on this side of the North Sea. Some of the sites known may reasonably be regarded as those of nucleated villages, but so far none have any pretensions to size. Here and there isolated huts or small groups have been found as in some parts of the South Wolds of Lincolnshire and these cannot even be rated as hamlets.

The total number of known sites has now been raised past fifty and continues to increase. There are indications that we may now be approaching a break-through in this field, but we still have little enough for a period covering five hundred years. In the past the lack of sites has been partly due to an inability to recognise the domestic pottery of the pagan period and the wares which succeeded them in the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries. Knowledge of Anglo-Saxon pottery is now increasing rapidly, thus removing a major bar to progress, but any detailed knowledge of the earlier communities is still wanting. Clearly a lot of the evidence for the early settlements must lie at the bottom of the stratification under modern communities which are their descendants. Such information as we have about the early groups at Sutton Courtenay in Berkshire and Wykeham in Yorkshire are due to their early destruction and the abandonment of the sites. It is unfortunate that for various reasons it was not possible to make a full examination of either, but a newly-discovered site like that at Puddlehill near Dunstable gives new opportunity. Here fair-sized huts with sunken floors are being found on a chalk site.

The meanness and squalor of these and other sites is remarkable and most of the structures

found can have been no more than the homes of churls and serfs of low degree and work sheds. In the Anglo-Saxon homelands in the Low Countries and North-west Germany such miserable dwellings are common enough, but they are usually attendant on the large bow-sided, timber-built farmhouses of freemen which, on the evidence of German sites like Warendorf, were impressive structures as much as one hundred feet long and twenty-five feet wide. Until 1960 no comparable buildings belonging to this period had been found in a rural context in England. The first hint of a new development came in Maxey in Northamptonshire where traces of several rectangular buildings averaging fifty feet long and twenty feet wide have been found. These are not strictly comparable to the Warendorf type and finds made with them suggest a Scandinavian origin and a date in the 10th century. But the earliest phase of the Wessex royal manor at Cheddar has yielded a nearer approximation to it which is certainly Saxon and dates to the 8th century. Road work at Brampton in Huntingdonshire in 1961 has revealed a bow-sided building of Warendorf dimensions dated to the 10th century and now that a beginning has been made more will probably be recognised. The cutting of trenches across the sites of such buildings is liable to show little to the inexperienced eye because the wooden walls of these structures leave little obvious trace in ordinary soils. Today the increasing use of earth-moving machinery, although it can be very destructive of archaeological evidence, can sometimes reveal much of the entire plan of a structure at one stroke when earth is being graded off to a common level. Success here will depend on the presence of an experienced observer able to make a quick intervention.

No particular progress has been made in establishing a link between the Anglo-Saxon village and its burying ground. The impression given by the present evidence is that pagan cemeteries lay well away from the abode of the living towards the limits of the land held by the community. Later, with the coming of Christianity, preaching crosses with their enclosures were set up nearer the villages and become the site of the parish church. The dead were now buried in the shadow of the cross while their pagan forebears stayed on the confines to get occasional notice in boundary charters as "heathen burials".

ROYAL RESIDENCES AND *VILLAE REGALES*

In 1939 very little was known about the *villae regales* or royal residences of kings in the Dark Ages. From various sources, and chiefly from Bede, the general siting of a number of these was known, but none had ever been positively identified and studied. The poem "Beowulf" gives a glowing picture of the glories of Heorot, the hall of Hrothgar the Dane, but we have had to wait till 1955 to get any solid archaeological confirmation for this kind of place in Britain. This results from the discovery of two *villae regales* in Northumberland, Edwin's residence at Yeavering (Gefrin) and Oswald's close by at Milfield (Melmin). Both of these sites stand today on open agricultural land between Wooler and Berwick and were discovered by air-photography.

The excavation of the Yeavering site by Mr. Brian Hope-Taylor has revealed a remarkable complex of timber hall structures standing close to a stockaded defensive work. Two of the buildings are claimed to be a pagan shrine and a Christian church and it will be recalled that Paulinus baptised many of the Northumbrians in the adjacent river Glen in 627. The structures only survive in plan for all were built of wood.

One unexpected discovery appears to be another item in the debt of Northumbrian culture to the departed Roman world. This was a timber structure built for assemblies. In form it is an isolated *curia* of a timber amphitheatre—rather less than a quarter segment. At the focal point of this structure indications of a platform or throne site were found with other details suggesting the public uses to which it was put. The whole complex was comparatively short-lived and was destroyed by fire at least once, possibly by Cadwallon after his victory at Hatfield Chase in 632.

The Milfield site has not yet been excavated, but its numerous visible analogies with Yeavering along with the virtually certain identification of Milfield with the place name Melmin given by Bede to Oswald's seat put its character beyond doubt.

Another royal seat of this kind belonging to the kings of Wessex has now been examined at Cheddar in Somerset. This had a much longer life than the two Northumbrian examples because it was taken over as a going concern by the Norman kings after 1066 and after John's reign was in the hands of the Bishops of Bath and Wells till the Reformation. The earliest recognisable feature of the site was a long farmhouse-like structure with a general resemblance to the Warendorf type. There

was also a storm water drain which limited the site on the north-west and contained stratified dating material. This early phase belonged to the 8th century. By the time of Alfred or somewhat later the main feature of the site was a large timber hall with an adjacent chapel, more than once reconstructed, and other buildings which have been interpreted as a bower, corn store, bakehouse and a mill worked by animal or slave power.

The finding of the royal ship burial at Sutton Hoo has focussed attention on Bede's statement that there was a royal residence of the East Anglian kings at Rendlesham nearby, but although a careful study of all the evidence by Dr. R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford has narrowed the area in which this residence must have stood, nothing definite is known of its precise site or details.

While kings spent much time in these *villae regales* during the period, we cannot doubt that their residences in places like Winchester, York, Canterbury, and Tamworth must have been of greater consequence. Some of these may have been no more than large royal "kraals", but the work now going on at Winchester may soon yield more positive information.

In Scotland and Wales information about royal sites is meagre. The Brittonic kingdom of Strathclyde had its principal fortress at Dumbarton and the kingdom of the Scots centred at Dunadd, but these places may not have contained important residences. The examination of Dunadd has given no information on this point and the prospects at the Rock of Dumbarton are hardly any better. St. Columba went to convert the Pictish king Brude mac Maelchon at a seat near Inverness (*munitia Bruder*) but of this there are no details. The scenes shown on the Pictish crosses suggest that Pictish rulers kept up a fair state if only because there was a high degree of craftsmanship in the land. Other evidence is wanting.

In South Wales the home of a Welsh nobleman belonging to the period 500 - 700 has recently been examined at Dinas Powys near Cardiff. This was contained in a small re-adapted Iron Age promontory fort and its buildings had little pretension, but the finds made showed craft activities and wide contacts with the Mediterranean and Western European worlds beyond our expectations.

Finally in another section of the Celtic lands Castle Dore (Lancien), the residence of King Cunomorus or Mark of the Tristan and Isolde story near Fowey in Cornwall, was excavated in 1936-37. Here a deserted Iron Age hill fort had been taken over. The recognisable buildings consisted of two rectangular aisled timber halls measuring ninety feet by forty feet and sixty-five feet by forty-five feet with other structures which may have been kitchens and granaries. The entrance was also provided with two porter's lodges.

ANGLO-SAXON DEFENSIVE STRUCTURES

Little is yet known about Anglo-Saxon works defending enclosed areas before the time of King Alfred. There is no evidence of any attempt to adapt or use Roman defence works before the repair of the walls of London and Colchester in 886 and 891 by Alfred and Edward the Elder which is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The use of the Saxon Shore forts at Burgh Castle, Bradwell-on-Sea and Reculver to house early monastic communities suggests that little interest was taken in their defensive possibilities except to use them as the *valium monasterii* of these new foundations.

On the other hand the conditions under which some of the newcomers made their early settlements must have required bases with permanent defences. The rise of Bernicia which began in the later 6th century through a fiercely contested expansion inland from the coastal rock of Bamburgh must have required some fortification of that post. Nennius records that sometime between 575 and 600 the Bernicians were temporarily driven back into Holy Island by Urien of Rheged. We may also recall Bede's account of Penda's attack on Bamburgh during the harrying of Northumbria in 651 when Deira had temporarily become a province of Mercia. Unable to make any progress by siege or direct assault he tried to destroy the landward defences by burning the house materials of the neighbouring villages against them.

Nothing has yet been recognised of the Bernician defences of Bamburgh, but there is a fortified site close to the royal residence at Yeavering some sixteen miles inland which might be Anglo-Saxon. It occupies a nearly level sub-rectangular area about 500 feet across overlooking a steep slope down to the river Glen. This was surrounded by two timber stockades about 40 feet apart with large circular developments like guardhouses uniting the two on each side of the entrance. Enough work has been done on this to show that it is essentially native in origin and belongs to the class of double stockaded

sites of the Roman Iron Age best exemplified in Southern Scotland at Harehope. While it may have been modified by Northumbrians it cannot be regarded as typical Anglo-Saxon work; it is just another example of the survival of a strong native element in this part of Northumbria.

There is little more to remark within the period except the earliest phase of the defences of Wareham in Dorset. These are partly secured by the parallel courses of the rivers Piddle and Frome on the north and south which have been completed by powerful banks and ditches to enclose a large rectangular area. The interpretation of these is in some dispute, but they are certainly post-Roman and may be the work of Egbert, the grandfather of Alfred. The case of Wareham raises the question of how many other places in Wessex were fortified in one way and another at the beginning of the 9th century. The Burghal Hidage of Edward the Elder's time gives details of a planned scheme of defence for Wessex which was inaugurated by Alfred and provided for the fortification and maintenance of a large number of places. Some of these were Roman towns in which the original walls must have been surviving in some measure; it would seem improbable, however, that none of the others had possessed any defences before Alfred's time. In showing very few fortified Anglo-Saxon sites on this map we are not denying the possibility of many existing before 871 in all parts of England, but we do not know anything about them yet.

LINEAR EARTHWORKS

The most impressive monuments of the Dark Ages in Britain are the great linear earthworks which define boundaries and mark stages of conflict between Celts and Anglo-Saxons as well as episodes in the internecine wars of the Kings of the Heptarchy.

The scale and length of many of these works make any kind of continuous manning impossible. In a case like that of the Devil's Dyke on Newmarket Heath its size is such that it formed an obstacle not easily surmounted, but this is abnormal. They are often sited to cover important routes from one region to another and are usually to be regarded as emphatic definitions of boundaries rather than as purely military works.

Certain limited areas and periods excepted, linear earthworks first appear as a regular feature of prehistoric Britain in the Iron Age. Some defend the approaches to Belgic capital places and others, like the large series on the uplands of East and North Yorkshire, may have been connected with cattle-ranching, but otherwise they and have the character of estate boundaries.

Two great linear defences, Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall in Scotland, were of prime importance in the affairs of Roman Britain. Although they completely lost any importance about 450 they were an exemplar for both sides in the struggle between Briton and Anglo-Saxon and the Teutonic peoples also knew about Roman linear defences on the Continent long before they entered Britain.

In some cases the Dark Age date of linear earthworks is in no doubt where they are firmly associated with historical personalities and events, or have been shown to belong to this period by excavation. Others are less certain, but where their general character and tactical design suggest a Dark Age date they have been shown on the map.

There has recently been a revival of interest in the major Dark Age linear earthworks of the Wessex area. So far nothing has come to light to modify the interpretation of the Bokerly Dyke as a Romano-British ranch boundary later greatly strengthened and developed to resist West Saxon expansion into Dorset and the South-west. But the recent reconsideration of Wansdyke by Sir Cyril and Lady Fox has shown that this work has no real continuity over the forty-five miles between Dundry Hill, south-east of Bristol, and Great Bedwyn or thereabouts on the Berkshire-Wiltshire boundary. It is now seen to be two separate works, one cresting the hills south of the valley of the Bristol Avon between Bristol and Bath, and the other beginning at Morgan's Hill near Devizes and running along the summit of the Marlborough Downs to a point west of Savernake. The intervening section between the Avon east of Bath and Morgan's Hill is now known to be illusory and no more than the line of the Roman road from Silchester to Bath. Thus Wansdyke falls into two sections, a relatively slight western work and a much more imposing obstacle on the Marlborough Downs. Sir Cyril Fox attributes the eastern work to Ceawlin's desire to define and cover the northern limit of Wessex against the Angles of the Midlands after the battle of Fethanleag in 584. The western work may be the work of Romano-Britons covering their frontier against Ceawlin's expansion of Wessex to the Severn after his victory at Deorham in 577, but the more likely explanation is a Saxon defence

of this part of the Wessex frontier against the growth of the Mercian kingdom under Penda *circa* 628.

Other works, like the Roman Rig and Becca Banks in Yorkshire may be similar coverage of the British kingdom of Elmet against Anglian expansion northwards from the Midlands. The most extensive of all linear earthworks in Britain are to be found between the Dee and the Bristol Channel where Wat's Dyke and Offa's Dyke represent two stages in the definition of the lengthy boundary between Mercia and the Welsh lands, and show the organising ability of a great Anglo-Saxon king at its highest.

The four dykes which span the open stretch of country between the East Anglian Heights and the Fenland in the neighbourhood of Royston, Cambridge and Newmarket have been the subject of some controversy. Archaeological evidence suggests that they are all post-Roman in date. It has been asserted that they are relics of a fluctuating frontier between Mercia and East Anglia, but the known facts of 7th century history do not support this. They may be the relic of a post-Mons Badonicus 6th century phase in which Anglo-Saxons in temporary retreat secured themselves in East Anglia against British pressure. However this may be they inspire considerable respect for the powers of their constructors. Less important, but perhaps belonging to the same early phase in East Anglian history, are the short lengths of dyke in West Norfolk.

The status of other dykes is less certain. The Chiltern Grim's Ditch has long been a crux, not only because of its failure to relate to any known Anglo-Saxon affairs, but also because of the oddities of its line across country which seem to make it little more than a set of local boundaries. An Iron Age date has recently been proposed for it, which seems to be more probable. There is also King Lud's Intrenchment sitting across the ancient Sewestern Lane line of communication between the South-east Midlands and the Trent Valley and now part of the boundary of Leicestershire.

Outlying systems of defensive works exist in general relation to a number of Roman towns like Colchester, St. Albans, Chichester, Cirencester and Silchester. In almost all cases there can be little doubt that these have reference to important centres of the late Iron Age which have preceded the growth of the Roman towns, and these works have all been omitted.

There remain a few other works like the Scot's Dyke in the Richmond area of Yorkshire, the Nico Ditch at Manchester, Comb's Ditch in Dorset, and the Giant's Hedge and Bolster Bank in Cornwall. None of these are of any strength, and the situation of those outside Cornwall suggests temporary frontiers of whose historical status we have no real knowledge.

In Scotland linear earthworks are mainly confined to the area between the Lammermuirs and the Cheviots. Of these the most important is the Catrail. The others are all short and generally take the form of cross-dykes barring old roads. None have been dated by excavation and no tradition connects them with historical events. In view of the disturbed history of much of the area until early modern times they cannot safely be placed in any period and are omitted from the map.

In Wales there are short dykes at various points along the Welsh side of Offa's Dyke, in Radnor Forest, and in the hill country overlooking the Vale of Glamorgan. Some of these are large enough to be shown on the map and are to be explained as forward works depending on Offa's Dyke. In general the South Welsh examples are very short, a quarter of a mile being an exceptional length, and their purpose is always to control movement along narrow ridgeways. Their age has never been proved, but all the attendant circumstances suggest a Dark Age origin. They have not been shown on the face of the map, but will be found in the accompanying lists.

An exception is the Clawdd Mawr in Carmarthenshire which is about half a mile long and covers the watershed between the rivers Tefi and Towy leading in the direction of the Mynydd Prescelly. This is considered to mark the boundary of the kingdom of Dyfed *circa* 720 and has been shown.

ANGLO-SAXON PAGAN BURIALS

Important finds which have been made since 1938 in other aspects of the field archaeology of the Anglo-Saxons have not deposed the individual burials and cemeteries of the period from their pre-eminence as the leading surviving traces of the early phases of the settlement. But while the presence of burials is virtual proof of the former existence of some kind of settlement not far away, the distributional relationship between the burials as they are known to us and the original topographical details of the settlement is far from clear. The incomers were farmers and we may expect

the pattern of their life to be strongly governed by the occurrence of good land. In general this proves to be the case, but there is the corollary that the best land is liable to have been subjected to the most disturbance by centuries of cultivation with the probable destruction of a high proportion of the burials made in it. It is interesting to note that there are areas where many cemeteries might be expected, but they do not occur, while neighbouring marginal lands contain a fairly high number of burials. This is the case with the Trent valley from Nottingham to above Tamworth where we are concerned with the heartland of Mercia, but although there are early finds they are not numerous, and they contrast with the many surviving burials in the uplands of Derbyshire and Staffordshire close by. The explanation of this must be that the river lands have been much turned over while the marginal lands have escaped much disturbance of this kind until the building of enclosure walls and the barrow-digging craze of the 19th century.

Germane to this topic is the problem of the "heathen burials" which are sometimes mentioned as boundary features in the land charters of the Christian period. The sites of some of these can be securely identified on the ground, but neither ground inspection nor the use of air-photographs has so far revealed the traces of the barrows of a much earlier period which might have been used as landmarks and correctly attributed to heathen folk.

The possibility remains that these may be the traditional burial sites of the community before the Conversion. This question can only be settled by excavation and, if it should prove to be the case, it would appear that the dead were buried at the limits of their territory and well away from houses.

Sometimes burials were made in and round prehistoric barrows and there are also instances, such as the Snape boat burial, of an important grave being dug into and through other burials belonging to the Anglo-Saxons themselves. In some cases the occurrence of the humbler type of isolated warrior burial may reflect the casual incidents of fighting, but in the main the cemeteries must belong to settled groups. Pagan burials can occur over a period of at least three hundred years, though in the 7th century it is notorious that quite a large number of burials are probably Christian even though provided with grave goods. But, whatever the religious background of the burials, it can be said that the total number so far found and recorded either by cremation or by inhumation with grave goods is probably of the order of 20 - 25,000. This is a surprisingly modest figure for such a long time even when it is allowed that this can only be a small proportion (5%? 10%?) of all the burials made. Allowance must also be made for the short expectation of life in the period and the indifferent nature of the records. The largest cemeteries which have been examined with any approach to thoroughness seldom contain more than 800 to 1,000 burials. Most are far smaller, but often this may be due to partial destruction before examination or incomplete excavation. The smallness of the number remains impressive.

Within the inhumation cemeteries the graves often occur in distinct groups separately oriented and containing persons of all ages, both sexes and all conditions of life. These must be family groups. There is not much variation in the detail of the graves, but there are occasional abnormalities like burial on a bed. It seems that individual graves were sometimes marked by low mounds or by wooden posts or boards. Some graves on the chalk have sockets for such marks cut at the head and foot. Traces of small associated rectangular structures have been found among the burials at Lackford in Suffolk and at Alton in Hampshire. The former were considered to be Roman, but with no real certainty. Until more are found they must be obscure, but some sort of shrine or place of offerings may be involved. The possibility of these being found must be borne in mind in future excavations. There is also occasional evidence of some sort of fence round at least part of the cemetery and a few burials follow on as chance or deliberate appendages to already existing Romano-British burial places.

Many Anglo-Saxon burials occur as primary interments placed under barrows thrown up at the time, as opposed to secondary interments in older barrows of the kind frequent in Derbyshire and Wiltshire. Some of these primary barrow burials are well or even splendidly furnished as at Sutton Hoo, Taplow, Caenby and Benty Grange, but secondary interments can also vary from the lavishly equipped grave down to that with nothing but a small iron knife. Barrow burials, both primary and secondary, are most common in Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire and Derbyshire, but they occur sporadically in almost every area of early settlement. Perhaps the most anomalous inhumation cemeteries in England are those which have been made in the actual surfaces of Roman roads; in Watling Street over a distance of half a mile at Churchover near Rugby, and in the Fosse Way at Cotgrave near Nottingham.

It is difficult to give accurate expression to the different types of pagan Anglo-Saxon burial place on a map, and Dr. Crawford did not distinguish between cremation, inhumation and mixed cemeteries in the first edition. There was much to be said for his attitude and for the following reasons.

The rite used is no absolute criterion for the age of a pagan burial, but cremations must be relatively early although, in fact, the few Teutonic burials known in this country which antedate the end of the Roman province were by inhumation. These may belong to mercenaries and their dependents and do not appear on the map. Few pagan cemeteries have been completely excavated under modern conditions and still fewer have been adequately published. Some of the most famous like that in the King's Field at Faversham in Kent were destroyed in the course of construction work without being seen by any competent observer, and in this case the preservation of some of its riches was due to the enthusiasm of a local tradesman who bought many pieces from the workmen. We know nothing of how they were disposed in the graves. Further, it is never possible to be sure what the casual find of a single inhumation or cremation may imply unless further search is made in the area round about, and there must be finds shown on this map under the symbol for a small group which are the only present evidence for much larger assemblages. A warning instance of this is provided by the great cemetery at Sleaford in Lincolnshire. In the early 19th century burials were found which were dismissed as being those of persons who lost their lives in the Pilgrimage of Grace under Henry VIII. Later the Great Northern Railway was carried through the town and it chanced that Sleaford station was built close to the site of the earlier find. In due course a very large mixed Anglian cemetery was revealed containing at least 800 graves and occupying an area of some 3,600 square yards. But even where large cemeteries have been fully recognised other factors like piecemeal discovery over the years by desultory gravel digging may make the study of their original size and content difficult as at Mitcham in Surrey. A cemetery may contain only a few cremations compared with many inhumations or vice versa, but the uncertainty about the degree of exploration may make any attempt to classify it provisional. There is also the question of the religion of those buried. While it is fairly certain that most inhumations with grave goods will be those of pagans, such an assumption is not always correct. In the early days of the Conversion some of the Christian dead were buried in a style which is pagan to our eyes, though a study of all the circumstances will usually give a clue to the truth. It is not till the early 8th century that the older practice dies away. The most striking case of this lag is probably the Sutton Hoo ship burial which, though almost entirely pagan in content and apparent intention and also a cenotaph, probably commemorates a Christian king. In the latter part of our period Christian cemeteries can no longer be identified with any certainty. The occurrence of ancient burials away from churchyards and without any grave goods may belong to the period before churchyard burial became normal. The usual practice was to abandon the old pagan site and group the new burials round the crosses which were set up as local Christian centres. When in due course churches were built they often superseded the crosses on the same sites and so the earliest Christian dead became mingled with their successors. But occasional finds of pagan cremations and inhumations in village churchyards remind us that there can be continuity of site from pagan times to the present day.

The difficulties mentioned above may have weighed with Dr. Crawford, but an attempt has now been made to treat the various cemeteries as predominantly by cremation, or by inhumation, or as mixed; also to give effect to the different modes of barrow burial and to any other variants that there have been, having strict regard to the evidence which has come down to us. This has required the use of ten symbols. Mention must be made of a type of burial which is a newcomer since 1939. This is the ship or boat burial under a barrow. There are now three certain examples, all in East Anglia, two at Sutton Hoo and one at Snape, and both within a limited area of the coast of Suffolk. Although these are a striking addition to Anglo-Saxon archaeology it seems that they must be regarded as a local importation into East Anglia through the descent of the East Anglian royal house, the Uffings, from the kings of Uppland in Sweden where the custom of boat burial was normal among the aristocracy. They are therefore unlikely to be found outside the confines of the old East Anglian kingdom.

There are no great differences in pattern between the distributions which appeared in the first edition and those now set forth. It is chiefly a question of the further multiplication of sites which arises from another twenty-five years' work. On the northern and western fringes of the Anglo-Saxon area there has been some modest increase, but this does not extend to that part of Northumbria north of the Tyne. Here, in spite of the early rise of the Anglian kingdom of Bernicia, there is none of that evidence of early settlement which is provided by pagan cemeteries. Howick is a small and doubtful exception, but does little to cover the eighty years between Ida and Edwin. This could be due to a much earlier spread of Christian influence from the north than we know of. One is left with the

impression that Bernicia consisted of a small Anglian aristocracy ruling a largely native population.

Equally the pagan burials of Wessex still do not encroach beyond the western limits of Salisbury Plain and there is still very little in East Dorset. On the outer limits of the Anglo-Saxon world in the early 7th century we are entitled to wonder if the possession of no more than a spear and a knife must always be the mark of an Anglo-Saxon burial.

Over the map as a whole the symbol showing the burial of from one to three individuals has multiplied in most places. Often it is quite likely that no more than an outlying warrior burial is concerned, but sometimes we may expect new finds to raise the status of these lone burials to that of cemeteries in the next edition.

ANGLO-SAXON SHRINES AND HOLY PLACES

Knowledge of these is still slight and almost wholly non-archaeological. It mainly derives from the evidence of place names which recall the former existence of shrines and from statements in the literature of the time.

There is Bede's story about the conversion of Edwin of Northumbria when Coifi, the chief priest of the old religion, took the leading part in the destruction of the pagan shrine at Goodmanham in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The compromise of Redwald, king of the East Angles, who thought he could avoid political difficulties arising from his own conversion by setting up an altar to Christ side by side with those of the old pagan gods also comes to mind. But the only archaeological evidence of a pagan shrine comes from the royal manor of Yeavinger where one of the rectangular timber buildings has been interpreted as such. This confirms the various hints that these holy places were covered buildings and from other sources we may be sure that they contained wooden idols and had enclosures round them. The great example is the building with mighty wooden pillars which once stood on the site of the present cathedral at Uppsala. Similar evidence may lie under some of our own churches for Gregory the Great consented to the taking-over of heathen shrines by Christians provided that they were purified and the idols removed.

The principal elements in place names which may be associated with the old religion are the names of the gods Thunor and Woden, the word *bearg* meaning a sacred grove or heathen temple, and the word *weo* or *wig* meaning an idol. Examples of these are Thunderfield, Thundersley, Wednesbury, Wenslow, Harrow on the Hill, Peper Harrow, Weyhill and Weoley. Names of features like Harrowdown Hill are also significant.

MONASTERIES

Monasteries as such did not appear on the south sheet of the first edition, though some of the principal places concerned received a church symbol. On the north sheet eight cashels were shown, all among the western islands.

An attempt has now been made to show all known monastic sites. The part played by monasteries in evangelising Britain both from Ireland and from the Continent is well known. In our period the monasteries of the Celtic and Saxon churches were similar in their organisation. The formal plan, which was a regular feature of the monastic house in the full Middle Ages, did not enter England before the reforms of the 10th century associated with Cluny.

The common feature of all early monastic establishments in Britain was the enclosure or *vallum monasterii* surrounding the buildings which were themselves set out on a regularly observed plan. Sometimes early monasteries were established in sites with pre-existing defences like native or Roman forts, good examples being St. Fursey's house in Burgh Castle (Gariannonum-Cnobheresburg), St. Cedd's at Bradwell-on-Sea (Othona-Ythancaester), St. Cybi's in the little Roman fort at Holyhead, and possibly Dundarg in Scotland. Excavation has now revealed the large bank and ditch which surrounded the early monastic precinct at Glastonbury. Sometimes the barrier was no more than a hedge or turf wall, and in Scotland the cashels were normally of dry stone construction.

A single symbol has therefore been used to show all monastic establishments known to have existed before 871. In some cases their precise location is not known although we can place them within a mile of the spot, and our only evidence comes from the lives of the saints which show that they were educated at, or went out from, monasteries at named places about which we should otherwise be ignorant.

At this time monasteries were normally quite independent of each other and there was nothing which could be compared with the Europe-wide organisation of the later monastic orders, but since some major houses like Medeshamstede (Peterborough) sent out groups of monks to found colonies at other places, there were several examples of federations of houses sprung from the same source. In this the influence of notable founders like St. Aldhelm and St. Wilfrid was paramount, and the latter was responsible for introducing the Benedictine rule which was observed in many Saxon monasteries.

The form which the organisation of an early monastic house took depended on the ideas of the founder. Thus double monasteries for men and women were not uncommon, and women, as abbesses, had great influence and authority which sprang from their rank as well as from their personal qualities. Princesses of the Anglo-Saxon royal houses were prominent in early monastic life, and the whole of English history before the Reformation can hardly show a more powerful female personality than St. Hild of Whitby. It was not infrequent for a whole family to resolve to devote itself to the religious life, take vows, build a church, and receive confirmation for their new house from kings and bishops.

But monasticism was in serious danger of extinction at the close of our period. The multiplication of small houses (*monasteriola*) of the family type was sometimes dictated not by genuine religious zeal but by a wish to avoid the payment of various public obligations. It reached such a pitch that the foundations of the state were endangered at a critical time. There was also considerable laxity in the more important houses and all these evils are clearly set out in Bede's letter to Bishop Egbert of York in 734. A system already suffering from internal decay was exposed to the ferocious attack of the Northmen during the 9th century and collapsed. Famous houses were destroyed and their inmates murdered or scattered; Dom David Knowles has given it as his opinion that in 871 no monastic house is likely to have survived north and east of Watling Street while in the south and west the Rule of St. Benedict had probably been abandoned except at St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

Monastic life was not to revive until the victories of the House of Wessex and the labours of Dunstan and Ethelwold put it on a new footing by introducing the reforming spirit of Cluny in the 10th century.

BISHOPRICS

Anglo-Saxon bishoprics were established upon a territorial basis. A bishop had authority over a region, generally the territory of a particular people, or group of kindred peoples, and placed his seat at some convenient point within it. These seats are shown on the map by a bishop's mitre; it will be noted that they were sometimes places of little importance then or now. Where Roman town sites were used some recognition of their former status was given by the use of the term *civitas* in describing them.

Celtic bishoprics were in no sense territorial and so cannot generally be given a location on the map, but a limited number of sites strongly associated with early bishops and which later became established as bishops' seats have been shown. For the difference between Celtic and Saxon bishoprics see Dom Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, English translation, 1932, 216 - 220.

SECULAR CHURCHES

The identification and dating of early churches in Britain has made much progress in recent years. Many of the more famous examples have been critically re-examined and in humbler buildings important early features have been recognised for the first time. Besides this there has been much re-assessment of the many fragments of early sculpture which have been found in churchyards or have survived built into churches. The total body of material is now formidable and is too large to be shown on a map of 1:1,000,000 scale which has to carry much other material. Thus only the fully established examples of secular churches earlier than 871 are shown and the inclusion of some of these may be controversial.

The parish church as understood today was a thing of modest growth before 871. Evidence relating to it is bound to be slight after more than a thousand years and the humble church in an obscure place has more chance of coming through to us than more important buildings. Excavation has shown that churches were built on royal estates as at Yeavinger and Cheddar. It is probable that noblemen followed suit on their own lands, but the provision of a church in every village was still

far distant. Most of the churches built in this period were those of monastic communities and were known as minsters. Local religious needs were met by the creation of consecrated places or enclosures (*loci*) where services could be held and the dead buried, and these were served by priests who came from the minsters. St. Willibald's dedication to the religious life took place at the foot of the cross at one of these places. His "Life", composed in the 8th century, says: "for it is the custom of the Saxon people to erect on the estates of nobles, not a church, but the standard of the Holy Cross, set up on high for the frequency of daily prayer". These *loci* were fenced in and provided with a cross of wood or stone. It is a fair presumption that later they often became the sites of parish churches and by a fortunate chance an apparent instance of this continuity has recently been found at Stafford. The site of the medieval church of St. Bertolin has been excavated and two churches have been found beneath it, the earlier a small wooden structure and the later a stone church of the 11th century. A surprising find was a massive wooden cross buried beneath the floor of the wooden church which may be the original cross of the *locus* preserved from base uses by being buried under the church which succeeded it.

Seventeen churches belonging to this period were shown on the first edition in addition to those at Hexham, Ripon, Rochester and Canterbury which were then classed under cathedrals. Now that monasteries are being treated separately most of the former list of churches has been absorbed into this category.

CHAPELS AND HERMITAGES

The life of the early Celtic Church gave rise to minor Christian monuments and sites which cannot conveniently be placed in the categories of monasteries and churches. These are principally hermitages and chapels. Details of plan and remoteness of situation will usually help to distinguish between ordinary monasteries and the abodes of anchorites, both male and female, who sometimes exercised considerable influence on Church affairs. Examples are the remains on the outlying island of North Rona and on the islets of St. Helen's and Tean in the Scillies at opposite ends of the British world. Ynys Seiriol (Puffin Island) off the coast of Anglesey is a case where the surviving plan of the earliest phase fully supports its interpretation as a hermitage.

St. Ninian's Cave near Whithorn is an example of a natural feature used as an oratory and there are also the enigmatic sites which may be associated with him at Brampton and Brougham in Cumbria which lay in the ancient kingdom of Rheged. Most obvious and numerous are the clear cases of early chapels. The greatest surviving assemblage is in the Isle of Man. Christianity was already established here by the end of the 5th century and at this stage the island fell within the sphere of influence of Wales rather than Ireland. The ancient land division was the small unit known as the 'treen'. Each of these had its own Christian centre which began as a 'rhuillick' (from the Latin *reliquiae*), a burial place of round or oval plan enclosed by a bank. These were originally marked by simple standing crosses and the dead were buried there in the characteristic 'lintel' (long cist) graves. They were also places for the celebration of Christian rites and in due course small chapels known as 'keills' were set in them. The dating of these is not always certain because they kept a primitive form through the succeeding Norse period and on into modern times, but the number whose pre-871 date is certain is considerable. Other examples of this kind outside Man may be seen at St. Ninian's in Bute, at Chapel Finian near Whithorn and near St. David's in West Wales.

MEMORIAL STONES

These are inscribed pillar stones, for the most part unworked, which were placed to mark the graves of the dead in the Celtic parts of Britain in the 5th, 6th, and early 7th centuries. The inscriptions on them are normally in Latin in late Roman script, but sometimes they are doubled on the same monument by an Irish version in the Ogam script, and occasionally Ogam alone appear. In general the form of the inscription or the presence of a Christian symbol puts it beyond doubt that the person commemorated was a Christian, but this cannot be assumed in every case. Many of them have been found in churchyards or built into later churches. Others stand in lonely situations among the hills, sometimes close to old trackways.

Nothing analogous to the memorial stone has come to us from Roman Britain although the existence of Christianity among the population is in no doubt. This form of monument is first met with in Ireland before the 5th century and its appearance in Western Britain must probably originate with the movement of Irish people into Wales and Cornwall. The formula of the Latin inscriptions used on these stones is that used in contemporary Christian Gaul and the vertical application of the

Ogams to the edges of the stones is typically Irish. We thus have evidence of two extraneous influences at work, one certainly due to the connections between the Irish Sea area and Western France which is strongly borne out in the accounts of the travels of the Celtic saints. Many of the West Britons had emigrated to Brittany and the Loire valley and contacts between Britons on both sides of the western part of the Channel were frequent.

Memorial stones occur in considerable numbers in Wales and Cornwall and to a lesser extent in Devon, the Isle of Man and the region between the Tyne and the Forth. The relative densities of their distribution may be taken as some evidence of the degree of survival of a feeble Romanity in the Celtic areas of the West and North. In Scotland they may be a product of the mission of St. Ninian between 397 and 432, but in any area some of them may antedate the end of the Roman province. In only two cases is there direct internal evidence of dating; from the Penmachno stone (C.I.I.C. No. 396; Nash Williams, No. 104) where the consulate of Justinus mentioned belongs to 540, and Llangadwaladr (Nash Williams, No. 13) where the King Cadfan commemorated died *circa* 625.

In Wales the stones form two groups in North and South Wales respectively, divided by a wide belt of empty country in the centre. In South Wales there is a heavy concentration in Pembrokeshire with lesser numbers in Carmarthenshire, Breconshire and Glamorgan. In North Wales the numbers are less, but evenly distributed over the whole area north of a line joining the Mawddach estuary to the upper course of the Dee. The distribution in South-west England covers the whole of the peninsula west of Dartmoor with a group in the South Hams of Devon and outliers on Exmoor. There is also an extreme outlier, Ogam-inscribed and enigmatic in its isolation, at Silchester in Hampshire.

It is in Wales and the South-west that the Ogam inscriptions predominate, with a major concentration in West Wales. They and the personal names recorded on them are evidence for a considerable degree of Irish settlement in these regions which took place chiefly in the late 4th century, possibly as *foederati* to protect these areas against their own freebooting kin. The smaller number of Ogams in North Wales may be due to the early subjugation of the Irish settlers by other federates transferred from the Lothian area under Cunedda in the late 4th or early 5th centuries, an interruption which did not occur in South Wales or in Devon and Cornwall until the conquest of the latter area by the Kings of Wessex between 700 and 850. In a number of cases there is evidence that Ogam inscriptions were deliberately defaced on some of the stones. Uncertain traces of the ends of Ogam scores sometimes survive and make it difficult to reckon the precise number of these inscriptions.

In the North the distribution of memorial stones is sporadic in the Lowlands of Scotland. Irish Ogams are absent from all but two in Southern Argyll, but these may be the result of the Scotie movement into that area. An interesting feature is the association of two Latin-inscribed stones with long cist cemeteries, the Catstane at Kirkliston in Midlothian and the Yarrow Stone in Selkirkshire. There are also a few of particular interest in the far North in which the language used is Pictish.

The chief authorities for these stones are the *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* of R.S. Macalister, V.E. Nash Williams' *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950), and H.O'N. Hencken's *Archaeology of Cornwall and Scilly*, (Methuen's County Archaeologies, 1932).

The continued independence of Wales and the uninterrupted Christian life in the area gave rise to a large number of monuments, mostly funerary in the form of crosses, which span the rest of the period. The memorial stones of the earlier phase and the later monuments have been distinguished as two classes on the map. In general all those occurring outside Wales may be regarded as belonging to the earlier class and in Devon and Cornwall there appears to be little which can be safely dated later than 700.

LONG CIST AND SUB-ROMAN CEMETERIES

The Celtic world outside the areas of early Anglo-Saxon domination has produced a variety of cemeteries and burials, presumably Christian in most cases, which have been recognised in Scotland, Wales and the West of England, and may also be expected in the western parts of Northern England.

The most notable group of these is found in Southern Scotland. They are called long cist cemeteries because the dead are inhumed without any grave goods in coffin-like arrangements of larger or smaller stones. Cist burials are no prerogative of any one period; most undoubtedly prehistoric burials of this type are in short cists and contain either a crouched inhumation or a cremation.

They show a tendency to megalithic construction when the material for it is available.

Long cist burials predominate in the Lothian region of Scotland. Here is a concentration of cemeteries varying in size from several hundred graves to groups of three or four burials. On the south its distribution is bounded by the Lammermoors and only one or two examples have been found in the valleys draining southwards into the Tweed. Northwards the type crosses the Forth and is found round the coasts of Fife and Angus as far north as the borders of Kincardineshire with few examples sited very far inland. In two cases, at Kirkliston in Midlothian and at Yarrow in Selkirkshire, they have been found in general association with memorial stones which are presumably Christian and not later than 6th century in date.

The burials are normally oriented with the head to the west and no grave goods have been found with any of them. While there is no formal proof it is difficult to doubt that these burials are Christian. Their area shows some agreement with that covered by the Northumbrian advance to the Forth and beyond till 685, but too much stress must not be laid on this. Burials of this kind have not yet been found in the Northumbrian homeland.

Long cist burials occur in other parts of Scotland far from the Lothians. Graves at Galsion in Lewis, Kilmartin in Argyll and Terally in Wigtownshire may be cited, but the only other area in which there is a comparable concentration is the Isle of Man. Here the early Christian sites known as rhuillicks and keills produce many "intel" graves which may be equated with the long-cist type. Similar graves at Clynog-fawr and Trearddur Bay in North Wales are certainly associated with Christian sites.

Turning to Southern Britain we find that although large western and northern areas remained free from Anglo-Saxon conquest for at least two hundred years after the collapse of the Roman provinces it is surprising that very few groups of burials have been clearly recognised as likely to belong to this time. In Wales, Cornwall and Devon memorial stones survive which imply Christian burials, but there has been little directly established association between these and human remains.

The examination of the large cemetery at Cannington Park by the estuary of the Parrett in Somerset has shown that it was in use from the 4th to possibly the 8th century. It now becomes apparent that other groups of inhumations found in the Bristol Channel area must belong broadly to the same period. Several of them at Llantwit Major, Banwell, Yatton and Henbury have been placed in the ruins of Roman villas and must post-date their destruction by some time. The cemetery at Camerton by the Foss Way, while clearly Christian, has nothing in it to give it a decisively Saxon character. All these cemeteries have therefore been placed on the map in the general category of sub-Roman in the hope that this will lead to further discoveries.

PICTISH SYMBOL STONES AND CROSS SLABS

The only important examples of Pictish art which have survived are stone monuments. These divide into two principal classes, rough pillars or boulders bearing combinations of symbols and cross slabs of a distinctive type, sometimes elaborately carved which may also incorporate some of these symbols on their backs or in the frontal schemes of decoration. Pictish symbols have been found incised on the walls of caves at Covesea in Moray and at East Wemyss in Fife. There is also a small class of incised animal figures of which the group of six stones carved with the figures of bulls found at Burchead in Moray is the best known.

The distribution of the Pictish symbol stones proper covers the whole of the eastern part of Scotland north of the Forth as far as the Orkneys and Shetlands. They are found over most of the habitable part of this area. In the southern part of Pictland Fife has its quota, but the main concentration is in Strathmore and up the valleys of the Tay and Earn. There is a gap in Kincardineshire where the mountains come down to the sea, and the distribution is resumed in the valleys of the Dee and Don with a heavy concentration in the hinterland of Aberdeenshire. A gap follows till Speyside and Moray are reached when they are again plentiful. The most northerly group begins on Loch Ness, passes by Inverness, and extends through the coastal parts of Ross and Cromarty to form a final nucleation round Golspie in Sutherland. A few more tall out northwards along the coast of Caithness and into the Northern Islands. Elsewhere there are a few in the Western Islands, principally in Skye, and there are three outliers remote from Pictland proper at Dunadd in Argyll, Anwoth in Kirkcudbrightshire and Robertson near Hawick.

Symbol stones carry varying incised combinations of some seventeen different symbols whose

meaning is unknown, though it has been suggested that they may have had a quasi-heraldic significance. The latest and best study of these stones has been made by R.B.K. Stevenson *The Problem of the Picts* (Nelson, 1955). He concludes that no artistic development can be ascribed to the Picts earlier than the mid-7th century on the present evidence, and that the main sources of their art are to be found in the Hiberno-Saxon styles from the 7th to the mid-8th centuries. The animal forms may have come from the Mediterranean art of the 6th and 7th centuries through the medium of Northumbria, though the genius of the Pictish artist made its own distinctive mark on them.

The purpose of symbol stones has long been uncertain, but the clear use of one to mark a triple grave at Birsay in Orkney and a probable association with graves at Easterton of Roseisle provides the clue. In any case few symbol stones are in their original positions when found.

When the Picts began to set up crosses in the middle of the 8th century they did not choose to follow the example of Northumbria and the Scots by adopting the free-standing cross. Instead they used dressed stone slabs, sometimes rectangular, and sometimes expanding in width towards the base. The Pictish sculptors took full advantage of the large field provided on front and back so that the decoration of these slabs is often elaborate. There are also other forms besides cross slabs such as the monumental slabs to be seen at Meikle and elsewhere.

These monuments range from the middle of the 8th century to the beginning of the 11th century by which time the Picts had lost their independence and their art, exposed to many outside influences, lost its identity.

The earliest of these cross slabs are found in the south of Angus and Perthshire, but by the beginning of the 9th century they begin to appear on the Moray Firth and in the Northern Islands. While they remain highly individual monuments to the last they embody various features borrowed from Northumbria, Ireland and late classical art like the inhabited vine scroll and boss decorations. Pictish symbols continue to appear on them until the mid-9th century after which their absence may be symptomatic of the loss of Pictish independence with the establishment of the United Kingdom under Kenneth mac Alpin. Outstanding features of these slabs are the vigorous hunting, battle and biblical scenes carved on them.

There is little doubt that the symbol stones as well as the cross slabs fall within the period of Christianity and the former view that the symbols represent a survival of La Tene art kept in Scotland through the Roman period is no longer tenable. The use of the symbols is in no way incompatible with Christianity.

Finally, symbols also occur on a few portable objects like hand pins, Pictish silver chains and pieces of bone.

OGAM INSCRIPTIONS IN SCOTLAND

The system of writing called Ogam was invented in Ireland and the spread of its use over Great Britain is a fair index of the extension of Irish or Hiberno-Scottish influence in our period. Under the heading "Memorial stones" its use for funerary inscriptions in Wales, Cornwall and Dalriadic Scotland has already been mentioned, and this has historical importance in showing areas where Irish settlement was considerable in the early Dark Ages. But in the absence of these inscriptions we should still have a good knowledge of the Irish language of the time from other sources. Some Ogam inscriptions are also found distributed over the Pictish area of Scotland with a strong local concentration in Shetland. Only twenty eight examples are known and they occur variously on memorial stones, Pictish symbol stones, cross slabs, stones of uncertain purpose and even, in two cases, on bone knife handles. Little is known about the languages spoken in Pictland during the Dark Ages and so this pitifully small body of epigraphy has an importance disproportionate to its size. The best opinion today is that some of the Picts, at least, spoke a P-Celtic Gallo-Brittonic tongue and the language used in some of these inscriptions is certainly Celtic, but in others as at Altrey, Inverurie, St. Madoes (Inchyra House) and Lunnasting some incomprehensible non-Indo-European language seems to be employed. The occurrence of so many of the "Pictish" Ogams in the far north is a tribute to the wide extension of Scotie influence. Their associations suggest that they belong to the 8th and 9th centuries, or even later. There are only one or two cases like the inscription on the Auquhollie stone which can possibly be as old as the 5th century. Both the "Irish" and the "Pictish" Ogams are indicated on the map.

FREE-STANDING CROSSES

Crosses of this type belonging to the early days of Christianity can be found in most parts of Great Britain. While it is probable that the earliest examples were set up in the South as a result of the Augustinian conversion, most of the finest survivors occur north of a line joining the mouth of the Severn to the Wash. Many were made of wood. Thus their survival is not to be expected, though one has been found buried under the chancel of a later church (St. Bertolin's, Stafford) and traces of many more probably lie in similar situations, placed there when superseded by the building of a church.

These early crosses indicated places where the Gospel was preached and where the local people gathered to hear the Mass celebrated by priests coming from minsters and to bury their dead under the protection of the sacred symbol. The rhuilicks of the Isle of Man are examples of these places. At a later stage elaborately carved stone crosses continued to be set up near churches and elsewhere. Sometimes they commemorated a person as at Bewcastle and Hexham, and at Dewsbury a great cross was set up which recalled the ministry of Paulinus. In North Britain the conditions were broadly the same, but while crosses of Northumbrian and Irish inspiration were free-standing, all the earlier Pictish examples were carved on slabs some of which also carried combinations of Pictish symbols.

There has been much controversy about the dating and artistic affiliation of crosses. In many cases the finding of early cross fragments near a medieval church allows a strong presumption that an early church stood on the same site. The total number of fragments which can be regarded as older than the mid-9th century is considerable and cannot be given full treatment on a map of this scale. In North Britain an attempt has been made to show all Pictish, Scotie and Northumbrian crosses which fall in this period. In South Britain only the most famous crosses are shown. In most cases they are reasonably well preserved, but there are exceptions where the great interest of the surviving fragments secures their inclusion.

EVIDENCES OF SETTLED LIFE IN NORTH BRITAIN

This subject is bedevilled by the fact that while there are many undefended minor settlements of various kinds plain to be seen in all parts of North Britain, we have not yet solved the problem of how to distinguish those which belong to our period. Datable material is not often found (coins are absent) and though a structural sequence can sometimes be established it is difficult to relate its phases to centuries, let alone decades, of historical time.

Southern Pictland, chiefly concerned with the modern counties of Fife, Angus, Kincardine and Aberdeen, must always have been one of the most populous regions because of its natural advantages. It is here that we should be able to form some idea of the life of the Picts, in an area where many surviving sculptures attest an important settled population and numerous examples of earth-houses (souterrains) should give some clue to the settlement pattern. The work of the late F.T. Wainwright at Carlungie decisively confirmed the association of earth-houses with simple structures which were essentially farms, but here the only datable object was a brooch belonging to the Roman period. This could be a survival and it is reasonable to suppose that the daily life of the Southern Picts in the Dark Ages was related to sites of this kind, but unfortunately earth-houses are not in themselves indicative of any particular period, occurring at any time between the Late Bronze Age and the Middle Ages.

Further north we enter the country of the brochs, the defensive towers whose main period of occupation covers the first few centuries of our era. The siting of these is related to the better land, where continuous occupation is to be expected, but it is only at Jarlshof, at the southern tip of Shetland, that we can see clearly the progression from a broch to a small village, whose life certainly extended into the Dark Ages. This group consisted of some of the specialised northern dwellings known as wheel-houses along with field huts, and there was evidence of both agriculture and cattle-keeping. The inhabitants made a poor but distinctive pottery which may have diagnostic value for the north in the future. In due course this village was supplanted by intrusive Northmen. Other broch sites in the north, which have not been so thoroughly examined, have yielded evidence of similar post-broch occupation, but its duration is quite uncertain. Much the same might be said of individual wheel-houses, which are plentiful in the Western Islands. Some of these were occupied in Roman times and after they had fallen into ruin they harboured squatters, but we can only be reasonably sure of those secondary phases which belong to the Middle Ages. Finally on the mainland, and notably in

Sutherland, there are found numerous circular houses, usually in groups and often incorporating souterrains, though of a simpler type than those of Southern Pictland. An excavated example at Kinbrace yielded material similar to that from the secondary occupation of some broch sites, but since these structures appear to have continued well into the Middle Ages they do not form a class that can be included on this map.

Dalriada has virtually nothing to show and Strathclyde is little better. In the South-west sites exist but we cannot date them, and the trifling amount of imported Dark Age pottery from Buston crannog is all that dates any settlement site to this period. In Manau Guotodin and the area of Northumbrian extension to the Forth the numerous long cist cemeteries must have some relation to settlements but none have yet been recognised. In the Lowlands and passing through the Cheviot area into Northumberland we encounter the so-called "Scooped" sites which are believed to have had an occupation extending into the Dark Ages and later. These are usually placed along the line of low terrace overlooking the course of a stream. They were made by scooping out a large shallow excavation with an entrance towards the water. The limits of the compound thus formed were further defined by a certain amount of upcast material to which boulders were sometimes added. Inside the compound the sites of one or two round huts may be seen and there is sometimes evidence of later re-use of the site in the form of ruined secondary rectangular structures. These sites may be either solitary or strung in sequence along a terrace. Such little evidence as there is suggests a beginning in Roman times with later continuation. There are also enclosed hut groups in Northumberland where occupation in the post-Roman period is certain. These sites belong to a region extending from the Forth towards the Tyne which belonged to the Votadini in later Roman times.

Little more can usefully be said, but work on the different types of ancient rural settlement in North Britain is going on under the aegis of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland through the production of county inventories which are preceded by a thorough examination of the ground.

FORTRESSES IN THE CELTIC LANDS

SCOTLAND

Scotland had her fair share of fortresses of Iron Age type when Agricola began his attempt to conquer the country in the 1st century. These were for the most part hill-forts of dry-stone construction with internal timber bracing and many were destroyed by fire. It is unknown whether in any given case this was due to Roman slighting, inter-tribal warfare, or mere accident, but the product—a vitrified fort—was the same. For the next three centuries Roman policy and fortunes in Scotland fluctuated, but we may be sure that for the most part the regions north of the Forth-Clyde line suffered only occasional interference. The only site of the later Roman period about which much is known is the important centre at Traprain Law in East Lothian.

The opening of the period saw the establishment of a new pattern of power. The chief contenders were the newly-arrived Scots in Argyll, the Northern and Southern Picts, and the two Brittonic realms of Strathclyde and Manau Guotodin—the last destined to an early collapse. Two principal classes of fortresses now claim our attention. The first may be called "historic" because they play their part in the shadowy wars of the period and are specifically mentioned in the meagre annals of the time. They are Dunadd, Dunollie, Dumbarton, Dundurn, Dunbar, Dunnottar and Duneidin. Among them Dunadd and Dunollie were principal strongholds of the Scots, Dumbarton (Altclut) was the capital of the Strathclyde Britons and only Dundurn and Dunnottar fall in the Pictish area. Their general siting on steep crags, their dry-stone construction and the re-use of the sites in later times have combined to leave little or nothing of any Dark Age structures. Only Dunadd has yielded a few finds clearly showing Dark Age occupation.

These may be placed on the map without hesitation, but it is otherwise with the second class. Here we have a number of sites which show a more or less completely ruined fortress of Iron Age type containing a simple secondary ring-work with thick dry-stone wall enclosing a small area on the highest part of the site. Good examples of this occur at Turin Hill in Angus and at Dunearn in Fife. No archaeological proof has yet been forthcoming for the date of these ring-works. A case has also been argued for a class of "nuclear" forts of presumed Dark Age date in which a strong defence of the summit is supplemented by a number of lesser enclosures below, which take advantage of defensive features of the ground, but this has not gained acceptance. There can be little doubt that the defences

of the secondary ring-work could be of Dark Age date but, pending more acceptable evidence on the whole question, this second edition can do little more than repeat the practice of the first in showing "historic" sites.

On a lower level there is the large class of minor forts collectively known as duns. These have a number of variations of plan, but no evidence has yet been forthcoming that any originate in the Dark Ages. They belong essentially to the Iron Age and are of the same period as the greater forts which suffered vitrification. Few have been thoroughly excavated and when any Dark Age material has been found it has always been in a secondary position concerned with some later squatting. Cases in point are Dun Cuier, Dun Scurrial and Dun Bhan, all on Barra, where material with a lower date early in the 7th century has been found. Further south in the fort at Ugadale Point in Kintyre there were signs of occupation as late as the 8th century and the galleried dun at Kildonan Bay in the same area seems to have been lived in from the 3rd to the 7th centuries. An interesting case is the Mote of Mark on the coast of Kirkcudbrightshire where an Iron Age timber-laced fort was destroyed by fire and then attracted another occupation in the Dark Ages which has left evidence in the form of pottery and clay moulds for making jewellery covering the period from the 5th to the 8th centuries. The defensive scheme of this second phase, if any, is not known. Sound grounds may be forthcoming for the appearance of nuclear and ring forts on the next edition, but meanwhile the treatment of this subject in Scotland must be confined to certainties.

WALES

At present there is no evidence that any serious attempt was made to re-establish the defences of the old Iron Age hill fort system after the close of the Roman period. Some major North Welsh forts were still in use in Roman times. Tre'r Ceiri defended a sizeable community and there was an at present inexplicable reconstruction of the defences of Dinorben in the 2nd century while the hill top at Dinorben was also inhabited in the 3rd and 4th centuries.

The occurrence of a very crude form of pottery on a number of Welsh sites has been claimed as evidence for post-Roman re-occupation. This pottery was first recognised in any quantity at the enclosed hut-group of Pant y Saer in Anglesey, but there is no reason to believe that the occupation of this place extended far into the 5th century and experience at Castell Odo, a hill fort in the Llyn peninsula, has shown that here this kind of pottery belonged to an Iron Age occupation dated to several centuries before the Roman conquest. The same sort of material has been found at the Breidden, Garn Boduan, Old Oswestry, Eddisbury and, doubtfully, at Dinorben. All of these sites had an Iron Age origin which, in the absence of unambiguous stratigraphical evidence to the contrary, suggests that this pottery may belong to it and equate them with Castell Odo.

On the other hand there was certainly some Dark Age resort to some of them and excavation of the hill top at Dinas Emrys has borne out ancient traditions about the occupation of the site in this period. A small dry-stone fort containing a single round house at Carreg y Llam on the coast of Caernarvonshire seems to belong to the 5th century or later. A few scraps found at Deganwy (Arx Decantorum) also hint at Dark Age occupation, but no defences have been found.

All of these sites belong to North Wales. As a fully integrated part of the Roman province South Wales was in a different position, but it is here that work on a small Iron Age fort re-used by a Welsh chieftain at Dinas Powys outside Cardiff has given the clearest indications of pottery, glass and metal work which can be firmly placed between the 5th and 7th centuries. One of the four defensive banks on the site may be the work of this period, but the later building of a small Norman ring-work has ruined the small hall and store house belonging to the chief. It may be that it is to the smaller Iron Age forts that we should look for the best evidence of Dark Age life in Wales.

OTHER AREAS

It is except the evidence for Dark Age re-occupation at Cissbury on the South Downs behind Worthing the rest of the evidence of this kind comes from the South-west. Here signs of Dark Age occupation of some kind in the form of imported Mediterranean wares have come from Cadbury Castle in South Somerset (the Camelot of legend) and also from a lesser Cadbury at Congresbury in the north of the county. The eroded coastal fort at High Peak on the Devon-Dorset boundary has also yielded some of the same material. In some cases, as presumably at Cissbury, this phase may have been very short-lived, but on the shifting frontiers of Wessex during the two centuries of westward expansion the possibilities are much greater and must be firmly borne in mind by field workers.

THE COMING OF THE NORTHMEN

In the 9th century many parts of the British Isles suffered in varying degree from raids coming initially from Norway and later from Denmark of such intensity that after the middle of the century much of the Anglo-Saxon area had been more or less brought under subjection. Various reasons have been given for the general onslaught from the North on many parts of Western Europe during the decline of the Carolingian Empire. It has been suggested that it might not have occurred had the rising kingdoms of Scandinavia remained in strong hands and the loss of central control in Denmark after the death of Horik in 854 is quoted as a particular reason for intensified raiding. A wide prospect for plunder and even settlement was certainly opened by the weakness of the successors of Charlemagne, but the attacks could only be made chiefly because of great technical advances in ship-building and seamanship in the North during the preceding century. The skilful application of sail to well-designed boats able to keep the open sea made speedy and unexpected raids by commando-like groups of sea raiders possible all round the coasts of Western Europe. There is no reason to believe that the forces engaged were very large in the 9th century, but the swift movement and determined purpose of a few raiders had a disproportionately large effect among communities ill prepared to meet this kind of threat. Plunder was the initial object and the idea of making new settlements came later, only taking hold in England after 850. In 865 the arrival of the so-called "Great Army" (*micel here*) under Ivar and Halfdan, the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok, was a major event. East Anglia was over-run, York fell, Northumbria became a tributary state and Mercia was brought to the verge of collapse. In 870 the raiders moved to Reading and threatened Wessex. It was now that Alfred became king in the middle of a desperate struggle. By great exertions he was able to maintain the independence of Wessex, but this was only achieved at the expense of creating two spheres of influence, Wessex and the Danelaw to the north and east of a frontier based mainly on the line of Watling Street. Alfred was able to hold his ground with some difficulty for the rest of his life and it remained for his successors to organise a successful offensive and master the intruders.

The process of settlement began earlier in the North. The creation of Norse kingdoms in Ireland and the Isle of Man was followed after 800 by the imposition of new settlers and rulers on the Orkneys and Shetlands, the coasts of Caithness and Sutherland and many of the Western Islands. A new dynasty of Orkney earls began a series of efforts to extend their rule in the north of Scotland while the Norse kings of Dublin troubled the south-west. In Southern Britain outposts were seized in Pembroke, Anglesey and the Wirral peninsula, while Cumbria received many Norse settlers.

A new phase in British history was beginning, but since it had not gone far when our period closes we have confined ourselves to showing no more than certain battle sites and other localities connected with the early phase of the struggle against the Northmen. No attempt is being made to show the extent of their settlement and the whole of the Scandinavian phase in British history is reserved for treatment on another map of this series.

NAMES AND LETTERING

The lettering used in this second edition is the same both in type and conventional meaning as that used in the first. There are two classes, upright and sloping, with the capitals proper to each. Anglo-Saxon names are shown in the upright characters, irrespective of their derivation, whether Saxon, Celtic, or unknown. Celtic names are shown in sloping characters. Names, whether Anglo-Saxon or Celtic, derived from manuscripts written after 1066, are placed within round brackets.

One, and only one, exception to this rule has been made in the case of names derived from the British Museum Harleian manuscript 3859, containing the so-called *Annales Cambriae* and the *Historia Brittonum* attributed to Nennius. This manuscript was written in the 12th century but the contents date from 954 to 955 and are certainly not later than 988 according to the best authority (Egerton Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodorion*, 1892, XL, 139). The place names from this manuscript have not been placed within brackets. Though written down late the forms are early, and in this case a literal observance of the rule would be pedantic.

Certain conventions have been adopted to distinguish other forms used. Whenever available Latin forms have been added in upright characters within square brackets. This procedure is justified by the fact that Latin names constantly occur in the documents of the period. Moreover they reflect the last departing rays of the setting sun of Rome — or at any rate they are an ecclesiastical reflection of that light, dim and faint perhaps, but authentic — the light of human progress.

Where it has been necessary to restore the original form, that form is preceded by an asterisk. Such restorations are occasionally justified when the correct form, or the nominative case, is not in doubt. Sometimes, however, when the manuscript is good, the form there used has been adopted in preference to a restoration, even when such restoration might have been regarded as legitimate. It is often very difficult to be sure of the nominative case of names which occur only in an oblique case. There is the further difficulty that some place names were regularly used in conjunction with prepositions (e.g. *monasterium quod dicitur in Berecingum*; *provincia quae vocatur in Undalum*; all of these from Bede). Here the somewhat awkward form has necessarily been used because it was the one current at the time.

In Scotland the names are practically all Celtic or pre-Celtic, but the few names in upright characters, mostly from Bede, serve to indicate the extent of his knowledge and also, to some extent, the degree of penetration of Anglian culture.

No attempt has been made to standardise spellings during the period covered, nor indeed was there any standardisation until a much later date. To make any such attempt would therefore be historically unsound. The letters "u" and "w" were interchangeable in Anglo-Saxon so that such names as Huicca wudu and Hwicce are both permissible. So also with the division, or absence thereof, between words which was quite arbitrary; such names as Colenga Burna and Winterburna are both equally common.

Certain Continental forms such as Waldheim and Nhutselle have been used because the manuscripts in which they occur, though written abroad, are the earliest in which the names occur and were actually written well within our period.

Some of the variant forms (such as Cyil and Cuil) may seem unnecessary and even pedantic. It has been considered desirable to indicate them, however, since they show that the region in which they occur was within the orbit of Anglo-Saxon knowledge, or at any rate of Bede's personal knowledge, and he was a representative of his time.

The names of the Saxon estates in Cornwall (Polltun, etc.) represent definite Teutonic influence and are therefore a fragment of history.

RIVER NAMES

The treatment of river names on the first edition of this map was based on Professor Eilert Ekwall's book *English River Names* (Oxford, 1927) and on his personal assistance in the work of classification.

A considerable number of Celtic forms of river names which appeared on the first edition have been dropped on the advice of Professor Kenneth Jackson because they were forms from Classical sources, they represent the British language of the Roman period and they are out of place on a map of Britain in the Dark Ages. Subject to this important change the practice on both editions is the same. In the case of river names the lettering used has been determined not (as in the case of other names) by the form, but by the origin. River names of Anglo-Saxon origin are shown in upright characters; those of non-Saxon (usually Celtic, but sometimes unknown) origin in sloping characters.

A large number of river names derived from manuscripts written after 1066 appear on the map. It is possible that some of these names were not given until after the end of our period. On the other hand it is certain that the majority of them go back to it, and it is probable that they were given to the rivers by the earliest settlers. It is not thought that the historical character of the map is seriously affected by the possible inclusion of a few river names which may have originated after 871.

In Scotland river names are very few. There is no collection of early forms like that of Ekwall for England and little material exists on which a study could be based.

THE CANONS OF EVIDENCE

The chief sources for the names on the map are Bede, the Anglo-Saxon (or Old English) Chronicle, contemporary charters and the Lives of the Saints including those of Germanus, Patrick, Columba, Samson, Kentigern, Cadoc, Paternus and Cuthbert. Some of the names have been taken from Asser's Life of Alfred when the sites in question are also mentioned in earlier sources. Use has also been made of the Book of Llandaff whose manuscript was written in the middle of the 12th

century. Sources dating from after 871 have only been used in so far as they appear to be based upon earlier texts or to represent a genuine tradition. Thus the *Historia Regum* of Symeon of Durham has been used because it incorporates a set of 8th century Northumbrian Annals, but the names have been placed in round brackets. On the other hand the *Liber Eliensis* has not been used because the work as a whole has never been critically edited and the degree of confidence to be given to several documents and traditions which it contains has therefore never been determined. Some other sources have been passed over for the same reason.

It has been impossible to find room on the map for all the places mentioned in non-literary sources relating to this period. Many of them were only small estates which had no particular significance in the life of the time. The names of large regions and provinces have been written across the areas covered, but the precise boundaries have not been shown because they are rarely if ever known, and because they were constantly changing through the period.

The extensive study of place names which has gone on in England enables the question of early forms valid within the period of this map to be settled with some confidence, but it is otherwise in Scotland. The materials still do not exist for mapping the distribution of different types of names. For the Anglian element, which has been comparatively neglected, hardly any material has been collected. A glance at the modern map is sufficient to show that certain early types of Anglian place names occur with considerable frequency in the Lothian district where Anglian culture was strongest. But for mapping such a distribution not only would the early forms be required, but also an investigation of adjacent regions where they may occur, such as Fife, Angus and south-west Dumfriesshire.

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PRELIMINARY NOTE TO INDEX

The different types of feature shown on the map are listed separately in this index.

In some cases, and in particular with the various types of Anglo-Saxon burial, it is only possible to assign a given example to a list on the basis of the information possessed. This may be defective owing to inaccurate reporting or to the probability that the cemetery in question was, for one reason or another, incompletely explored. Thus the true balance of the types of burial represented may not be known. Users may have formed their own opinion in any given case. If, therefore, a cemetery is expected in the "Predominantly inhumation" class and it is not there a search should be made in the "Mixed inhumation-cremation" list, and so on. It is hoped that in one way and another practically all known burials have been drawn in, but classification according to the user's expectation cannot be guaranteed.

The first entry in connection with any feature is the name of the parish in which it occurs. It is unfortunate that sometimes wrong attributions of parish have been given to finds in the literature and these have become firmly associated with them. We have attempted a strict adherence to the truth and it may therefore be that users looking for a familiar parish name may not find it, though the second column, giving the distinctive name of the feature where it has one, will often set them on the right path.

The question whether many seventh century Anglo-Saxon burials are pagan or Christian is sometimes an open one. An attempt has been made to indicate these cases by prefixing an asterisk (*) to these entries in the lists.

Each list contains five columns:—

Column 1 gives the name of the parish in which the feature occurs. It is in full alphabetical order.

Column 2 gives the distinctive name, if any, by which it is known, or any other succinct information which may lead to its easier identification. Many features have never been known by their parish name and in these cases a cross-reference is provided.

Column 3 gives the National Grid references of each feature to six figures. In a limited number of cases only four figures are supplied where the precise position is in doubt.

Column 4 contains an abbreviated form of the name of the county in which the item occurs. Now that the National Grid series of the Six-inch maps is well on its way to completion there is no longer any point in quoting the old County Series sheet number.

Column 5 gives the relevant One-inch sheet number.

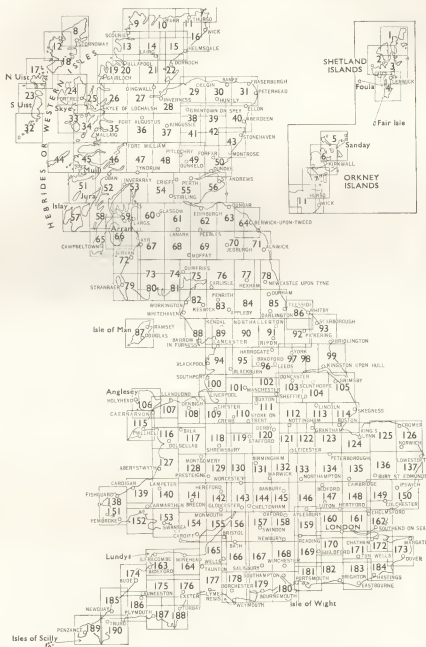


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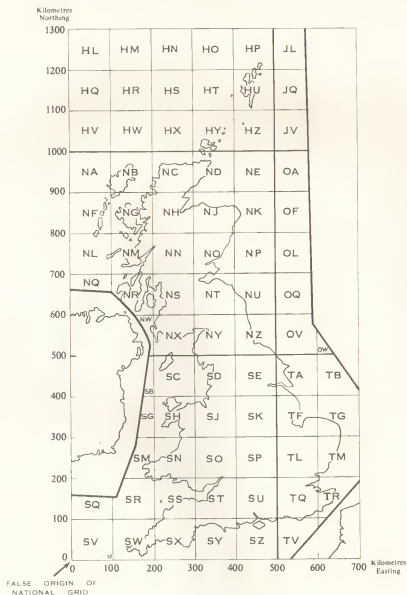
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ONE-INCH SEVENTH SERIES



THE NATIONAL GRID REFERENCE SYSTEM OF GREAT BRITAIN

Diagram showing 100 km. squares and the letters used to designate them





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